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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS  
(No. 12)

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## F O R E W O R D

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SELECTED TRANSLATIONS ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST DEVELOPMENTS

(No. 12)

Preface

This is a monthly publication containing translations of materials on the International Communist movement selected mainly from Communist and pro-Communist organs published in the Free World.

When adequately descriptive, the title given in the source document is used for the purposes of this publication. When a more descriptive title is necessary, the title as given in the source document is included in parentheses.

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## 1. 13th CONGRESS OF BELGIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

A. REPORT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE PRESENTED BY ERNEST BURNELLE, NATIONAL SECRETARY TO CONGRESS (Union of People's Forces for a Program of Peace and Progress, for an Anti-Monopoly Government; Report of the Central Committee Presented by Ernest Burnelle, National Secretary, to the 13th Congress of the Communist Party)

Le Drapeau Rouge

19 April 1960, Brussels

Pages 3-5, French (Belgian) daily np (Communist)

Our party is gathered here in congress on the threshold of a completely new era in which political events are proceeding at a giant's pace and in which, in the most important field, that of peace, humanity has gained ground by battering down the aggressor's plans, striking a blow against anti-communism, forcing the Cold War to recede, and opening the way to peaceful co-existence among the states of the world.

Today, after 10 years of international tension, humanity can glimpse close at hand and for the first time in its history the perspective of a warless world in which peace, security, and a confidence in the coming day will leave their imprint on the lives of men.

We live in an epoch surprising for the extent of the new developments in the technical and scientific fields, an epoch in which the wondrous exploits of men on their way toward the conquest of space herald a more leisurely, cultivated, and dignified life on Earth.

One of the characteristics of the new situation is the rapid pace of events. Permit me to call to mind two striking examples of this rapid evolution.

At the beginning of last year, who would have thought that Comrade Khrushchev would be taking a trip to the United States, that peaceful co-existence would make such triumphal strides through the country which is dominated by the most aggressive imperialism of all, which is the citadel of the Cold War, and which was subjected to the most hysterical and provocative anti-Soviet propaganda?

Who would have thought that Comrade Khrushchev would make a trip to France or that there would be a communique at the close of his talks with General de Gaulle, pointing to disarmament as the most important and urgent problem of our epoch, affirming the will to settle the questions with regard to Germany, among which are the treaty of peace with Germany and the Berlin question, and lastly, declaring forcefully that all unsolved international questions should be resolved not by force but by peaceful means, by negotiation?

Could we have believed, scarcely a year ago, when colonialist reaction was engaged in massacre in Leopoldville and the Belgian government was preparing to send the Belgian Army to the Congo to drench the national liberation movement in blood, that in so short a time and through a rapid, irresistible evolution, the capitalist monopolies of Belgium would be compelled to have talks with the representatives of the Congolese people, would be driven to negotiate and agree to independence for the Congo on 30 June of this year?

It was difficult, was it not, to foresee such a rapid turn of events?

The world has thus turned about very quickly in recent times.

#### The Aims of This Congress

It is essential for the labor movement to grasp the meaning and value of the changes going on in the world and in Belgium, to become aware of the new avenues being opened to action by the workers, and to realize just how much accumulated strength the labor masses are able to bring to bear on the problems of the hour and how well they are able to make their solutions to these problems accepted. And it is an imperative duty for the Communists in particular to understand the exceptional nature of the epoch now beginning.

The worst danger we could expose ourselves to in elaborating our plans for action is to underestimate what can be done now, to fail to see that 1960, 1961, and 1962 will be radically different from 1956, 1957, and 1958, and to fail to discern, through the maze of elements that are often new, the essential part of this change. Thus we must be sure to realize that something has changed intrinsically in the world, the knights of the atom bomb having been pressed to the defensive and the initiative having gone over into the hands of the workers' camp, the camp of peace.

That is why we want, during this congress, to have these political changes well understood, to discover the link among events that are seemingly unrelated, and to explain these events.

That is why, in order to keep up with this current pace of life, we want to leave this congress with a perspective of social and political improvements that can actually be achieved in the coming years.

We wish to determine the road we shall follow so that the Belgian workers' movement will materialize in the era now beginning and finally be united on the basis of a fighting program. That program will be an ambitious one for the extent of its social and political goals, will be a program of peace and progress in strict accordance with what can truly be attained in our present era, and will be such that the working masses of Belgium will be able to carry it through triumphantly by a unified struggle.

Such is the aim of our congress.

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## With the Struggle of the Classes for Popular Successes

With regard to this matter, we desire to have at our national congresses as extensive an exchange of viewpoints and as serious a comparison of our ideas as possible.

We shall succeed in finding these just solutions, these valid perspectives, and this good fighting program because we are inspired by the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism, the triumph of which throughout the world is the most important event of the century.

But what does "being inspired by the ideas of Marxism-Leninism" actually mean?

It means acknowledging the class struggle as an objective factor, as a factor of progress for our society, and as a social factor which limits the disorder brought about through the capitalist laws.

To be inspired by the Marxist-Leninist ideas is to reject class collaboration and seek a solution for problems that is detrimental to the capitalists' interests; it does not mean an effort to conciliate the workers' interest with that of the capitalists.

Class collaboration results only in dashed hopes for the workers. It has inspired the baneful policy of the Spaak clique, which, in backing the aims of the American billionaires, has imperiled the State finances, slowed down social progress, and given new life to German militarism and fascism. Class collaboration is intended to have the workers support capitalist war machines like the CECA [the ECSC] and the Common Market, which undermine sectors of our economy and doom the workers to unemployment. It is also in the name of class collaboration that the Rightist Socialists have pleaded for the protocol of productivity, which proved to be one of the most revolting hoaxes in the past few years.

Class struggle, on the other hand, has led to all the victories of the workers.

In the past, it has been class struggle which has grasped the great victories of universal suffrage and the eight-hour work day.

In the final analysis, it was class struggle which made it possible to restore the freedoms and independence trampled underfoot by fascism.

And today, we have seen that it is class struggle once more which is leading to a betterment of workers' conditions, to a more secure existence, and to liberation for the Congo.

And it is precisely because we want to see the triumph of the great aspirations of the popular masses and resolutely want a successful outcome for the program to result from our work that we repeat our devotion to the principle of class struggle which brings labor victories and that we say once again, as Joseph Jacquemotte has done so often: "One cannot side simultaneously with both the rich and the poor, it is one or the other and the choice must be made."

## International Solidarity at the Service of the Workers

Secondly, to be inspired by Marxism-Leninism is to recognize the fact that all the workers in the world are objectively linked together by firm, common interests and that such a tie imparts an ever-increasing power to their struggle.

The international solidarity of the workers is not merely a matter of fraternal feelings, nor is it a vague moral aspiration that is higher than the worker's country, religion, and color of his skin. It is more than that. It is an objective fact, a real political element which reflects the convergence of interests of the workers of the world and is developed normally through struggles, which it stimulates.

For example, the strikes last year which shook the Borinage took on an exceptional international importance and contributed to the strengthening of the labor resistance in the Common Market countries, even though the Borains were motivated primarily by a desire to defend their pits and their livelihood.

In the same way, the increase in the standard of living of the Soviet workers, their extraordinary accomplishments in the field of health and of education, the reductions in the work day, and especially the substantial reductions in military forces and the Army budget are just that many more contributions to the struggle of the workers of Belgium for their aspirations, even though the Soviet workers are primarily concerned with their own interests. If we are friends of the Soviet Union and all the countries in the Socialist camp and if our hearts leap with joy at each of their victories, it is in the name of the interests of the workers of Belgium, their hopes, and the success of their struggle.

Thus, in the name of the interests of the workers of Belgium, we vigorously reproach the Rightists of Social-Democracy who have denied the new world which emerged from the glorious October Revolution, have calumniated the gigantic efforts of the peoples freed from the chains of capitalism, and have joined their voices to those of the worst enemies of progress, interested in depriving the Belgian workers of the support being given them by their comrades in the East.

But the world is changing. The workers' camp participates with more and more weight on the international scene and anti-Sovietism has received a blow from which it will never recover.

Reality always triumphs in the end. The reality of today is a growing understanding of the decisive role of the Socialist camp. That is why, in the name of the workers of Belgium, we rejoice to see the trade union and Socialist militants come in ever-increasing numbers as delegations to the country where the people are in power, so as to be objectively informed.

Class struggle and international solidarity, such are the essential fundamental ideas which reflect reality and go hand in hand with life. That is why we must take ever deeper inspiration from them so that our discussions, the elaboration of our plans, and our work will be inspired by life itself and consequently be fruitful.

But just why is it that the world situation has evolved so rapidly for the better? Why has the inter-relationship of the world forces changed favorably in the direction of peaceful coexistence?

Why has the camp of peace increased its influence and added new forces? Why is it, especially in our country, that political opinion is turning more and more away from the foreign policy adhered to by the governments that followed one another since 1947?

It is because the Atlantic policy and chatter about the balance of forces and defense of the free world, alluded to in the speech by Spaak at the UN in September 1948, have not aided in settling international relations. Quite to the contrary, they embittered the relations between East and West, cut the world in two, and several times placed humanity on the edge of the abyss.

#### The Failure of the Policy of Force

It is because balancing forces does not mean settling the defense of a country once and for all. In the present circumstances in which there is constant technical progress and the capitalist monopolies are omnipotent, seeking to balance forces involves a senseless armaments race, such as in the periods which preceded the two world wars.

These facts are not forgotten. The imperialists have concealed their aims under the theory of the balance of forces and have thrust humanity into the first slaughter. Hitler also covered up his plans for world domination under the same theory and transformed Germany into an aggressive power which unleashed the second general cataclysm.

Today, public opinion is becoming increasingly aware of the danger of seeing history repeat itself. It sees the same policy and chatter resulting, as it did in yesteryear, in turning Germany into a country of gun merchants and thereby the cause of a third world conflict. It sees that the wrong road has been taken in the field of security.

#### From One Betrayal to the Next

In over 10 years, the Belgian Governments, going from one betrayal to the next, have reached the inconceivably absurd decision of agreeing criminally to the rearmament of West Germany, of the Germany seeking revenge, of the Germany of the Krupp family, of a Germany led by a government which even yesterday included an Oberlander, a Nazi of the first order, executioner of the peoples of the East.

The Belgian governments, under the direction of the PSC [Parti Socialiste Chretien -- Christian Socialist Party] and the Socialists, have accepted, going from one betrayal to the next, military alliance in NATO with yesterday's executioners, with those who remain Franco's allies, demand territories, and speak once more of a crusade to the East.

Going from one betrayal to the other, the Belgian governors have recognized the authority of a Speidel over our Army, agreed to the installation of launching pads in Belgium; and gone so far as to negotiate with Mr. Strauss for the installation of the depots of the Bundeswehr, and now are agreeing to the organization of "integrated mobile forces," as General Norstad calls them, which will have German soldiers equipped with nuclear weapons.

#### The Greatest Danger of the Hour: Rearmament of West Germany

Today, the rearmament of vengeful Germany has become, only 30 kilometers away from us, a deadly reality with its dangerously anti-democratic concomitants, namely the persecution of the courageous German Communist Party, the friends of peace, and the organizations of victims of the Hitler regime, as well as the scandalous activity of the swastika daubers. There is also the policy of wiping away the stain of the traditionally criminal activities of the Krupp family, the rehabilitation of the leaders of the betrayal, while in Belgium itself, there are the clemency measures for economic collaborators and the setting free of so many notorious, influential persons without civic traits, two examples of whom are Elias and Hellebaut.

Moreover, what was foreseeable has actually happened. Those persons who said that NATO would be an instrument to control German rearmament look good today, for now Adenauer is calling the plays, supported by a restored economy and a large army, and speaks to NATO as one equal to another. That is where the Atlantic policy has gotten us.

#### Humanity Against the Atom Bomb

Just as mad has been the blackmail policy involving the atom bomb. Far from being a policy bringing security, the international policy based on the atom bomb has proved to be a permanent temptation to have recourse to a test of force, since the subsistence of humanity is at the mercy of an irresponsible, impulsive act or simply an error. This is to say nothing of the permanent danger of radioactive fallout due to thermonuclear explosions, a danger to humanity, both to present and future generations.

Today, radioactive fallout no longer is a threat to Japanese fishermen alone but is present in our own skies. This was observed quite well when, a few hours after the French explosion in the Sahara, our Meteorological Institute noted that the rains on 29 February had 600 times more radioactivity than the average amount.

Thus it is with all our might that we condemn the Belgian government for having approved of the French explosions in the Sahara against the advice of the Belgian people.

From the Kaiser to Speak

In his recent talk in Etterbeek, at the same time that he acknowledged the fact that the Cold War has had its day, Spaak had the audacity to claim that peace was defended by giving war inhuman proportions. You all know this "honest man" only too well. Spaak is fearful of seeing his policy condemned and of seeing an agreement reached on atomic disarmament, the key to general disarmament. That accounts for his crowning attempt to compromise the chances of the summit conference by boasting of the peaceful uses of the atom bomb and the thermonuclear explosions.

Ten years ago, he took up the old slogan so dear to Kaiser William II: "If you want peace, get ready for war."

No, citizen Spaak, the present peace is not due to your policy of preparing for war. If the workers had let you have your way, you and the champions of the Cold War, the third world war would have been unleashed. It is because the workers did not permit you to do so that the third world war did not take place, because they said to themselves, contrary to what the Kaiser and Spaak thought, "If you want peace, prepare for peace."

A Good Speculation, According to M. Gilson

The popular masses condemn the Cold War policy all the more because it has begun to conflict with their social aspirations and their economic interests.

The latest example -- that of the raising of the ceiling on social security withholdings -- indicates again that it is from the workers' pockets that the Government is drawing the billions to finance the military expenditures.

The Atlantic policy has led to increased taxes, the degradation of the Social Security system, a higher cost of living, the ruination of the communal and provincial finances, and the restraining of social demands.

It is a secret to no one that the public treasury is in a bad state and that Belgium is seriously in debt, inasmuch as the burden of military expenditures has increased the public debt from 250 billion [Belgian francs] at the start of the Korean War in 1950 to 380 billion today.

Scorning the swing toward peaceful co-existence, the Government intends to increase further this year the National Defense budget. M. Gilson, Minister of National Defense, stubbornly insists on buying 70 military planes for 8 billion francs. And since he had a bad conscience about it, he is trying, with the aid of M. Velter of the Fabrimetal Company, to make the purchase of these planes seem like a good speculation which would stimulate our economy and bring the workers 3 billion francs in wages. According to M. Gilson's arithmetic, the workers would get 3 billion and the people would pay out 8 billion. And that is what M. Gilson calls good speculation.

The new increase in the military budget and the purchase of these planes have evoked a storm of protest from public opinion because the country is beginning to understand better than it did yesterday just what the mechanism of military supply orders involves, because it realizes that the 8 billion for the purchase of planes can only be paid by the Belgian State which, in its turn, can only get the money by taking the 8 billion from all the little people, and because, according to what M. Van Houtte himself declared, the purchase of these 70 military planes constitutes a useless expenditure.

#### The Atlantic Vehicles in Their True Light

In addition, the Cold War policy was combined with the establishment of vehicles with a European cast, such as the CECA and the Common Market, which supposedly grew out of the principle of free competition and were to promote economic progress and counteract crises. In the name of these vehicles, promises were made that there would be an increase in production, including that of coal, that prices would go down, and that employment would rise.

Today, reality indictsthe promises of the adherents of the Cold War as being false.

The CECA has appeared in its true light as a pitiless machine of destruction of our coal industry, even the modernized collieries, and as the instrument of ruin of the Borinage. Prices have not gone down at all.

Unemployment remains at a high level despite the economic recovery.

Thus, if one goes by the official figures, then, compared to 1956, production is the same, with 30,000 fewer workers and salaried persons in industry and with 60,000 more unemployed in the country.

#### A Bad Six-Way Protectionism

The so-called European institutions are developing their maneuvers under the banner of free competition, while in reality Belgium, since its inclusion, has had to loosen its ties with the world market. The Cold War plans had already prevented our country from profiting from the new opportunities of our foreign trade when the US decreed the prohibition of exports of so-called strategic materials to the East.

Little remains of the lists of strategic materials, but the tendency to fall back on Western Europe has remained.

Thus, from 1938 to 1959, Belgium's trade with the countries of the Common Market has doubled and has gone up 10 percent in the total foreign trade of Belgium, but trade with the rest of the world has proportionally taken an inverse drop.

In particular, trade with the USSR in 1958 did not even equal 40 percent of the amount of trade in 1938 and this tendency is becoming more pronounced. In fact, that is one of the essential tendencies of

the capitalist monopolies which conceived the Common Market, that is, to enclose the Western economies within the framework of the six [European economies?] and to exert pressure on those capitalists who are being led by the turn of events to look toward the East.

The Common Market is therefore not free competition but a bad form of protectionism on the scale of Little Europe.

The CECA and the Common Market do not take account of the particular interests of our country. The example given about coal is conclusive. The CECA insists on the importation of foreign coal into Belgium to the same extent that it cuts down on our own coal production. A senseless policy, from the Belgian viewpoint.

Besides this, these institutions intensify the foreign participation in the capitalist exploitation in Belgium.

#### What Should One Think About the American Factories in Belgium?

Minister of Economic Affairs Van der Schueren, speaking in the Senate, rejoiced about the fact that in the past 10 years 113 American enterprises have been established in Belgium. Now of course all investments have a positive side to them. But what is being overlooked is the fact that the Belgian government has had to give the American firms guarantees regarding foreign trade, to agree to establish imports in such a way as to favor the American capitalists but be detrimental to the country's economy.

This can be seen even more clearly today; the instruments of the Cold War have nothing in common with internationalization of economy, such as the workers of Europe will one day achieve when their turn comes.

This is not a modern, rational organization. It is imperialism pushed to an even more fearful degree, so that the capitalist contradictions are more exacerbated and the power of the capitalist monopolies has fewer restrictions and is even more of an obstruction to the new needs of the country and its people.

It is a fearful enterprise of increased exploitation, strengthening of the capitalist monopolies, and accelerated, merciless crushing of the weakest producer. It is the instrument par excellence which enables the most aggressive magnates of Federal Germany to participate in the domination of Europe, to give credence to their claims, and to impose the dictum of the steel kings and the champions of revenge.

#### The Belgian Governments Took the Wrong Road

The road that has been taken for the past 10 years by the various Belgian Governments, whether they called themselves Leftist or whether they were Rightist, was a bad one from the point of view of peace, the fundamental problem of the moment.

The popular masses feel that the wrong road has been taken since the liberation; that when fascism was crushed 15 years ago, the conditions were right for a world that could be more dignified, happier, more modern, and more united; and that by rejecting the Potsdam agreements, the Belgian Governments took the road which turned their backs on the painful lessons of World War II.

Capitalist monopolies and governments at their service have followed an absurd and criminal road, dominated by their anti-Sovietism and hatred of popular forces; it is a road which causes a hundred billion dollars to be wasted every year in the world while a third of humanity cannot satisfy its hunger.

But history has mocked them.

#### History's Good Turn

They sought to block the peaceful reconstruction of the USSR and prevent the USSR from giving a brilliant demonstration of the superiority of a regime which is not subjected to the laws of capital.

Just the contrary took place. The production of the USSR, despite the division of the world, underwent sensational developments. In the military field, the USSR has assured itself of superiority in armament, whereas the US lost the monopoly of the atom bomb.

It is thus clear today that it is mad to dream of attacking the Soviet Union. At the same time, the USSR has proved that it did not intend to take advantage of its superiority and has placed its force at the service of peace. The sorry champions of the Cold War also sought, 10 years ago, to launch their supreme counter-attack to retain the colonized and dependent peoples, whose rapid rise they foresaw and wanted to delay by means of international complications.

But there too they failed. A third of humanity was freed of the chains of imperialism.

After Asia, it is all Africa which is in its turn caught up in the victorious fight for independence. Latin America too is shaking off the chains of American imperialism. The colonized or dependent countries have shorn the imperialists of all hope of using them as so many bases in their preparations for war. Even more than that, they are solid pillars of the camp of peace.

The popular masses feel they must choose another road, the true policy of peace, co-existence, and cooperation. It is this latter policy which is rapidly flowering on the world scene. It has ripened during the 10 years of courageous struggle against the Cold War.

#### The Acts of Peace of the USSR

This policy is illustrated by the successive reductions in the armed forces of the USSR: 2,140,000 men demobilized in the last few years and a new cut of 1,200,000 men planned; this plus a corresponding saving of 17 billion rubles a year.

It is further illustrated by the sensational proposals made by Comrade Khrushchev on 18 September 1959 at the UN, in a speech which created a great stir in the world. The Soviet Union proposed to the world a specific program to be carried out in 4 years and providing, with appropriate controls, for the renunciation and destruction of all weapons of extermination (atomic, chemical, bacteriological). The armaments would be reduced by stages and in the end the land, air, and sea forces, the General Staffs, and the Ministries of War would all be abolished, and the military academies would be shut down.

#### Greeting to the Disarmament Proposals of the Soviet Union

From the bottom of our hearts, we greet the peace proposals of the Soviet Union, not only because they reflect the old hope of the labor movement for disarmament and the long struggle it is waging, but also because they are practical, up-to-the-minute proposals. It is because humanity is faced today with such solutions that it says yes to Khrushchev, that it is capable of making disarmament accepted.

It is natural for public opinion to turn with interest to these new and generous ideas affecting the peace of the world, to the proposals which are practical in being able to cause the international situation to thaw.

It is natural for public opinion to approve of the unilateral stopping of thermonuclear tests by the Soviet Union, the ideas about a disengagement zone as presented in the Rapacki plan, the proposals reiterated so as to bring about negotiation, and the revelations about the danger of a rebirth of nazism.

There is nothing astonishing in a powerful current of interest, based on the desire for peace, flowing over the social policy of the countries of socialism which have buckled down to gigantic economic problems in a determination to outstrip, in all fields, the most advanced capitalist countries.

#### Recognition for China and the GDR

Nor is there anything astonishing in the fact that public opinion is becoming aware of the worth of China in international relations, of the China which got rid of hunger, unemployment, and despotism, the scourges which were believed to be eternal, and which has the force to settle its problems through a mass gathering of the popular energies.

Public opinion, marveling at the nobility and efficaciousness of the Chinese achievement, demands, in the interest of peace, the recognition of China by Belgium and its admission into the UN.

Public opinion, uneasy over the danger represented by a vengeful Germany, is finally realizing, despite the wall of lies, that there is a Democratic Germany which is liquidating nazism and militarism

and is building in the eastern provinces, which were believed to be destined solely for agriculture, a mighty industrial Germany at the service of peace.

For all these reasons, the ratio among the forces of the world has evolved irresistibly in the direction of peace.

We therefore have a right to hope that at the threshold of the new era, the summit conference opening next month in Paris will be a positive one and will help the surge of the struggle of all the friends of peace in the world.

#### Ten Years of Stubborn, Useful Struggles

We have lived 10 years of stubborn struggles for peace, made up of so many delegations, petitions, assemblies, conferences, and demonstrations. We have merged our efforts with those of many men of heart who came from horizons quite different from ours.

These were 10 years of useful struggles.

Certainly the battle is not yet completely won, far from it. The instigators of war keep a close watch on the lapses of public opinion, on the opportunities for provocation hidden in so many unsettled, confused questions that they aggravate at their leisure. The instigators of war still have nostalgia for the policy of the brink of the abyss.

We know that the march toward peace will not be an ascension in a straight line. The future will assuredly have its ups and downs. Humanity will still live through moments of tension and the struggle for peace is called on to assume even greater proportions.

There is a nest egg for the friends of peace, however.

If we retrace the steps that have been taken, it is because we want to approach the new stage with increased confidence and with bolder ambitions in proportion to the greater opportunities presenting themselves to the labor movement.

#### A New Historic Bond of Human Civilization

But what indeed are the new opportunities presenting themselves to the labor movement?

In order to answer that question which is so essential for the plan of action of our party, let us first delineate certain essential characteristics of the world in transformation.

The first characteristic is the rapid change in the ratio of industrial production in capitalist and socialist countries.

The capitalist world is on the way to losing its supremacy. In a few years, the countries of the Socialist camp will turn out over half the world industrial production, so much so that the world economy will be marked more and more by the presence of the Socialist production, by the harmonious nature of its production, and by its beneficial role in the evolution of world production.

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The second characteristic is that the US has lost its world-wide monopoly. The US was the only capitalist country to come out of World War II with increased productive forces in the midst of a devastated world. Today, the period of reconstruction of the capitalist countries is at an end. With the end of this period ends the period of the positions of force, the period in which arrogance was coupled with proposals for material aid. The new period is illustrated by the Khrushchev-Eisenhower resolution adopted at the Camp David meeting.

In the third place, the accession of a large number of colonial countries to the rank of independent countries, with accompanying new needs, will surely influence the world economic situation.

We are no longer living in the time when the conquest of independence by a backward country did not do away with the economic domination of the colonizing country.

Today, the peoples who are becoming free want more than independence on the surface alone. They also want economic, diplomatic independence, to direct their foreign policy themselves. They want to settle their vital problems on their own. This introduces the need to industrialize. That is why the countries freed from colonialism constitute a positive factor in the world economy.

Besides, the monopoly of raw materials, characteristic of imperialism, tends to weaken with the perspectives of a better distribution of raw materials on the world market. The independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa and the complete liberation of Latin America are also perspectives of the definitive liquidation of the colonial wars.

Also, it is interesting to consider the changes going on in the conscience of the workers of Western Europe after the struggles and victories of the colonial peoples. The opportunism of the Western labor movement, nourished especially by colonial pillage, will be dealt a blow with the defeat of the imperialists.

The fourth characteristic is the deepening of contradictions among the imperialists, England and France being up in arms against the American yoke and seeking to overcome, at the expense of one another, the difficulties resulting from the loss of their colonial empire. This accounts for the signs of crisis in NATO.

In particular, the rapidity of the evolution of the negotiations for the independence of the Congo between the Belgian government and the Congolese leaders is not due solely to the solidarity of the Belgian workers with the liberating struggles in the Congo nor solely to the protests of the youth organizations against the Government's intention of sending Belgian soldiers to the Congo. The sudden change in the positions of the Belgian Government is also due to the maneuvers of the American, French, and German imperialists, maneuvers that were dangerous for the Belgian capitalists who had to meet the most urgent demands.

The international situation is therefore in full evolution and contains fresh opportunities for alliance, not only between Socialist countries and newly independent countries but also between the NATO countries and those of the Socialist camp.

Perhaps we shall be surprised by unforeseen rapprochements between certain governments which, while savagely opposed to one another yesterday, are today much closer because of their interests.

These alliances and rapprochements will speed the disappearance of the absurd division of the world into two blocs and will help in the establishment of peaceful co-existence. These are breaches in the wall of the Cold War, brought about under the impulsion of the peoples, who should widen these breaches to the point where the Cold War wall will crumble completely.

#### The Capitalists and the Challenge of the USSR

The last characteristic and the most important of all is the fact that the capitalists are compelled to take into account the peaceful challenge issued by the Socialist camp. We are no longer in the era of the first Soviet five-year plans, when their success still did not yet constitute an immediate danger for the world of the capitalists.

The rapidity of the reconstruction of the USSR despite inconceivable devastations, the pace of industrial development, the capacity of the Soviet regime to overcome obstacles which impeded its growth, and especially the world-wide repercussion of the Seven-Year Plan have forced the capitalists to ponder seriously on the Soviet challenge and the perspectives of co-existence.

Certainly, no capitalist statesman or prominent capitalist has given a public answer to the Soviet challenge. None has said: "Agreed, Mr. Khrushchev, we shall compete in the race to raise the material and cultural levels of our countries, in a race for the happiness of our peoples."

No statesman or capitalist has spoken such thoughts. But let us be certain that in the secrecy of the meetings of administrative boards, the businessmen have weighed the danger threatening them, that they are calculating, and that they have sought ways of facing up to the peace and a competition which they can no longer avoid.

#### The Range of the Challenge

But the capitalists are not the only ones who have heard the challenge of Khrushchev. The workers too know that the Soviet Union has hurled an historic challenge at the capitalist world. This challenge coincides with their will to live better, to know a more dignified and cultured life, and to profit from the new technical opportunities, the weakening of the capitalist regime, and the growing strength of the labor movement so as to overcome unemployment and the insecurity of the next day, to win more health and leisure time.

One very important characteristic of the era we are now entering is the strength with which the popular masses are able to tackle unresolved problems and to have their demands prevail; it is the boldness of their viewpoint and action which they are able to call into play in order to impose their solutions.

We live in an era in which civilization will forge a new historic bond, for the technical and political forces at the disposal of humanity are without precedent in history.

The feeling that many things have become possible will no doubt galvanize the will to achieve and the will for happiness that are in the hearts of men.

#### A Blow Against the Opportunists

The era now beginning will afford less chance for the opportunists who maintain their influence over the labor movement solely by means of the ideas which demobilize and divide them.

This lack of confidence of the opportunists in the popular forces and in man is accompanied by a naive over-estimation of the capitalist forces, by a childish belief in the bourgeois tall tales, all of which leaves a clear field to the worst kind of anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaigns by the Rightist leaders and the reactionaries.

But don't you think, comrades, that events taking place are striking a blow at the opportunists, the wind blowing today is coming from a new direction, and that this is a bracing wind which is fortifying hopes and sweeping away the fables that embittered the workers' relations, a wind that is dispersing the defeatist arguments and developing the class struggle favorable to the working class, its victories, and its march forward?

#### The USSR, Ever the Great Friend

Consider the extent of development in our country of the ideas which come from the Socialist camp and which announce the new Belgium. See how increasingly urgent it is to do away with the disastrous tyranny of the capitalist monopolies, to control and smash them, and to eject them from public life. See how urgent it is to have a society that will bring order to production and distribution, will be able to plan the economic life of the country, a society in which democracy goes hand in hand with progress, and in which the standard of living rises with the growth of production.

As the situation develops, the realization grows -- and rightfully so -- that the Socialist camp, with its ambitious economic plans, is also working for the workers of Belgium, that the Soviet Union, with its policy of peace and progress, is at the sides of the workers in Belgium, that it supports their efforts and hopes, and that it is what it always was, the great ally of laboring Belgium.

## The Exceptional Role of the Fight to Win Demands

I should like to emphasize the exceptional role to be played by the fight to win demands in the new era.

I say unhesitatingly that this action is the nucleus of the vast political action that the labor movement will undertake. I speak of the nucleus and not the principal problem, which is that of peace.

Just why is this fight to win demands so decisive in the present stage? It is because today this fight alerts all the different kinds of working masses and because it always assumes the appearance of a political struggle, for rarely do demands fail to be echoed in Parliament, to be the basis for legislation, and to be discussed in the press, all of which compels the government to state its position.

In the present period, demands are becoming more and more general, are increasingly drawn up on a national scale, and provoke a political discussion about public finance, national income, the domestic market, and international relations. They also evoke the problems of modern democracy, contribute to an understanding of the effects of acts of nation-alization and of structural reforms, and ripen those political alliances which are capable of making the demands triumph.

By setting in motion large masses of workers struggling for their demands -- particularly for the reduction of military expenditures -- they contribute to the fight on the most important political front of the movement, namely the front of peace.

The fight for immediate demands is the criterion of the seriousness of a labor organization or movement and of the value of a political platform, an alliance, or a government.

The Eyskens government is a bad one because its general policy is that of opposition to the popular demands. And the fact that it opposes them indicates that it is following a reactionary political and economic policy, both at home and abroad.

## Social-Democracy and the Demands

It is not by mere chance that the Van Acker government also followed a policy contrary to the popular demands. By following a foreign policy that was favorable to the capitalist monopolies, it was not able to have an internal policy that did not favor them.

There was a time when social-democracy, in referring to socialism, spoke of it as the product of a continuous accumulation of demands achieved, which would little by little change the regime from a capitalist to a socialist type. We know of course that this banal theory of the march toward socialism has been scathingly disproved by history. But now, when life has made socialism the topic of our times, social-democracy is even making socialism hazier than it did at the start of the century and is turning farther and farther away from taking action to obtain demands.

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The most obvious defect of social-democracy today is that it slows down the fight for demands, that it is dragging at the tail of the labor movement, and that it only takes up these demands when it can no longer escape them; at that, it does not necessarily take them up to ensure their success.

What is the reason for this attitude? It is because social-democracy, as much as the capitalists, senses the limitations of the government, the havoc which the demands play on the capitalist front, and the gravity of the contradictions among the capitalists. It is because social-democracy is too timid, has too little confidence in the popular forces to find the revolutionary way.

#### The Left and Demands

A left wing has appeared in the social-democratic movement and we are very glad about it, but it is sometimes difficult for this wing to rid itself of the social-democratic shortcomings. Like the Rightists, this wing often registers scorn for demands; according to this wing, the fight for demands leads nowhere and has been bypassed, the struggle for structural reforms, separated from the demands, being the only way possible.

Van Acker should not be overly concerned by such positions which have no ability to mobilize because the popular masses do not see what such reforms can do for them.

The workers are quite right to distrust what is not specific, what is silent regarding wages, pensions, tomorrow's security. For these alleged structural reforms that are devoid of any social content are not likely to disturb reactionary elements. They are only capable of helping the hoaxers put one over on public opinion.

#### Material Demands and Political Progress

Our organizations, particularly those in enterprises, must show imagination in the field of demands. The working class can count only on the Communists to make known their demands, to test them in struggle, and to generalize them. Each of our factory or quarter organizations must join the fight for demands, play its role in it, show it the way, and make it go forward in the light of the great political ideas of the party and by means of its political struggle.

The fight for demands is a factor in a good political struggle. Yet we know that the fight for demands is not automatically transformed into a political struggle, that political organizations are needed to show the link between the demands and the means that are capable of bringing them to fruition, in order to organize specific actions.

The Social-Democrats are deathly afraid that the masses will become aware of the relationship between politics and demands. Why do they resist so obstinately the slogan, "Reduction of military expenditures by 10 billion so as to settle a large number of demands"? It

is because they know that the knowledge of the efficaciousness of that slogan will multiply tenfold the power of the fight for demands, and that the demands will triumph and hurt the regime.

Therefore, in order to assure the success of the demands, our party must know how to combine political action, the raison d'etre of our party, with the fight for demands.

#### Why We Are Democrats

Lastly, the action to achieve demands is an aspect of the great national function assumed by the working class, and its struggle coincides with progress. The fight for demands is not chaos. It is, rather, conducive to order, for its aim is to take away from the capitalists and the military budget enough to provide more well-being for the little people. It counteracts the brutal play of the capitalist laws which would cause even greater ravages were it not for the powerful labor organizations. It helps the new society to mature.

The more demands there are, the better it is for society and progress. The more active labor organizations are, the better. The more workers there are who take part in presenting, defending, and achieving their demands, the better that is for the country.

That is why we are democrats, favoring the participation of many in public life, seeking to effect the winning of as many demands as possible. That is why we favor nationalization and structural reforms enabling as extensive a control as possible of public opinion so that the economy is increasingly productive in the interest of everyone and so that an increasing number of demands are met.

That is also why we believe in the fullest trade union democracy and in the broadest initiatives possible to be undertaken by the popular masses. That is why we are opposed to limitations to democracy, to the cheating of universal suffrage, and to personal power ventures. Finally, it is also why we favor the Socialist society because it is the form of modern society that ensures the most satisfaction of the material and cultural needs and because it is in order to attain this goal that the people of such a society assumes the collective management of production.

Consequently, the political struggle and the fight for demands are linked in much the same way as are democracy and man's happiness.

#### A Political Program of the Party on the Scale of the Era Now Beginning

We must indeed realize that upon entering a new era, we are headed for a great test of strength between working masses and capitalist monopolies. Either the workers, determined to put Belgium on the road to peaceful co-existence and disarmament and to a better life, will succeed in controlling, limiting, and breaking the capitalist monopolies, or the latter will take the initiative, disturb international relations, and orient the country toward the road of attacks on democracy. These are the alternatives dominating the present era in Belgium, the Communist Party believes.

We have emphasized the very favorable characteristics of the present situation and the great possibilities for going forward. But that does not mean that the situation will develop by itself and give results without any effort being made. The Communists must seek to prepare the working class for larger struggles and more decisive ones and to guide it toward new objectives in proportion to the times in which we are living.

They must propagate the modern ideas which achieve successes for the popular masses in the world, arm the working class with valid perspectives, and struggle to make it stronger organically and ideologically, more unified, and more offensive.

### Three Fundamental Problems

We must therefore elaborate a program for the party, one that is adapted to all the facets of the historic period now beginning and which defines the objectives made possible by the increase in the popular forces, the fighting alliances which will bring success.

The Belgian working class does not have a political program that measures up to the era now beginning. It has only bits of a program, often consisting solely of demands.

We shall be the only ones to elaborate an over-all political program and it will be our task to propose to the Belgian labor movement programs for the successive stages, programs around which the workers will unite and win successes.

It seems to us that the party program for this period should be based on three important problems, namely the strengthening and definitive establishment of peace, the leap forward by democracy, and a considerable raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the workers.

### Peace, Democracy, and Happiness

In the field of peace, we want to see, by the end of this period, that Belgium, through an increasingly positive participation in the relaxation of international tension, will have the security of its borders and be rid of the atomic nightmare; that it will disarm, and thus end the senseless waste of military supplies; and that it will have established commercial and cultural relations with all the countries in the world.

From the point of view of democracy, we want to see action carried out against the capitalist monopolies, so as to prevent the monopolistic minority from being all-powerful in the Parliament and Government.

We want to improve the functioning of democracy by establishing the power of the workers to control and direct the workings of the economy. During this period, we want to control, limit, and break the capitalist monopolies.

Under this condition, political rights will become real and Parliament will become an institution reflecting the popular will and the alliance of the working classes, an institution which finds solutions to current problems in accordance with the general interest.

By the elimination of the capitalist monopolies from the national life, we shall place the action of Parliament and the Government under the control of the popular, political, and trade union organizations, with electors and elected being finally united in the same will.

#### The Europe of Tomorrow

In this regard, I should like to bring up a problem closely linked to the problem of democracy and the struggle against the capitalist monopolies. That is the problem of Europe.

We are against the Common Market, the CECA, and Euratom, which are vehicles invented by the capitalist monopolies and which are going to create considerable difficulties for our country.

That does not mean that we do not have any plans with regard to Western Europe. By means of the successes which the working masses will win against the capitalist monopolies, there is no doubt that Western Europe will not return to the situation it was in 15 years ago.

The governments, getting support from the working masses, will surely be able to resolve the economic problems in a way that is increasingly international. They will succeed because the working class is the sole class that is truly international.

It is not unlikely that a European complex will be established on the basis of agreements favorable to the peoples. It is clearly too early to say what countries will take part in it and what its program will be like. But it is foreseeable that this is the direction in which we shall go because of the labor victories and the rapprochement of the workers' organizations on the international level.

We are going to work so that Western Europe will, by defeating the monopolies, make a brilliant contribution to the cause of humanity. Democratic and progressive Europe, heir to the conquests of the past centuries and to so many victorious efforts, will be in a good position to startle the world in technology, science, and culture and as regards the happiness of men and the political betterment of society.

As for the third group of problems, that of raising the material and cultural standard of living, it is essential that the popular masses should realize the strength they have to do what they could not do before: improve the standard of living continuously and bring about full employment.

With democratic control, i.e., the participation of the Nation in the management of the economy, both the raising of wage levels and the development of production can be effected by the working masses.

## Communist Party Program for the Historic Era Opening to the Workers

Permit me to present to you the broad lines of a program of our party commensurate with the new era. The program includes the following points:

1. In order for Belgium to contribute to the relaxation of international tension and the definitive establishment of peace:
  - a. Support by Belgium for all international attempts to ban thermonuclear tests and outlaw the atom bomb, to bring about total and controlled disarmament, and to eliminate the danger of the rearmament of West Germany.
  - b. Reduction of the Belgian military forces to the absolute minimum necessary, as part of general disarmament.

Abrogation of the treaties and agreements concluded in the Cold War spirit.

The departure of NATO, abrogation of the agreements for the rearmament of West Germany, elimination of the foreign bases and military depots on our soil, and the removal of launching pads.

c. Recognition of China and the German Democratic Republic.

2. For a more democratic Belgium which will control, limit, and break the capitalist monopolies, for a Belgium able, in the general interest, to arrange the development of its production and of full employment:

a. Nationalization of power supply, credit, investment firms, and insurance companies.

Democratic control of the essential economic sectors and of investments. True nationalization of the railroads (including the local ones), the trolley lines, the air transport services, and the communications services.

b. Reconversion of the war industry to a peace industry.

c. Elimination of the CECA, Common Market, and Euratom.

d. Policy of economic aid for the under-developed countries.

Financial and economic relations with the Congolese state on the basis of equality.

e. Policy of exchange on all levels with all the countries in the world.

3. For a more leisurely, dignified, and cultured life:

a. Raising of the standard of living by 50 percent in 10 years.

b. Increase in purchasing power, salaries, pensions, and social allocations.

c. Establishment of a national relief fund.

Democratization of taxes.

d. Organization of a national health service for all the people.

e. Development of the social services network, and of teaching and cultural institutions; democratization of higher education.

We consider this program of the party to be both a program of action and a program of an anti-monopoly government. This anti-monopoly government will be brought to power by a fighting alliance including the working class, the farmers, and the middle classes in the cities and will get support from that alliance to carry out the program completely.

Let me emphasize, however, that I am not saying it is necessary to await the formation of an anti-monopoly government to begin to carry out the program.

To repeat, it is the struggle for the objectives of the program and the subsequent successes that will pave the way for the alliance and set the perspectives of a new type of government which, in turn, will constitute a new element for a decisive leap forward.

Such a program, in order to be completed in the era now beginning, entails important changes in public opinion, in the relationship of the forces, and in the political activity of the working masses.

It is still thus far only a perspective, since none of the parties participating in the government and no trade union is now engaged in any activity in the direction of such a political change. This program can only mature by means of considerable development of the workers' struggles, through a more marked thrust toward the left in the camp of social-democracy, through more independence in the activity of the Christian labor organizations, and through a rapprochement of the labor class on the one hand and the farmers and city middle classes on the other.

#### Favorable Signs

It may seem utopian at first to hope that such conditions can mature during the coming years, for rarely have the social strata we mentioned held positions that were close to one another politically and, very often, some of them have traditionally supported the reactionary parties.

We should not hide our difficulties from ourselves. However, we must also take into consideration the fact that the stage we want to cover extends over a number of years. Let us keep in mind the surprising changes that have taken place in recent times, such as the growing discredit of the capitalist monopolies and especially the urgent problems which have confronted the workers and the middle classes, problems for which the capitalist policy cannot find a solution. Because of this, we are not acting in haste when we foresee great possibilities of quite new concentrations of forces.

Consider the struggle of different tendencies within social-democracy which, I grant you, has its deficiencies. But notice above all that the tendency making gains is that of the left, a reflection of the thrust from below.

Consider certain currents in the PSC Parliamentary bloc, the unity of action with the Christian local trade unions to defend the collieries, and the rapprochement among the Socialist, Communist, and Christian youth organizations.

Consider the attitude toward the proposals made by our party and the undeniable success of our slogan, "Reduction of the military expenditures by 10 billion."

These are still only modest changes, to be sure, but few of us thought them possible some years ago, at the Congress of Vilvorde.

#### An Historic Alliance

The alliance we are proposing in order to carry out our program is, because of its parts and aims, unprecedented in the political history of our party. Expressing the fighting union of the working class and middle classes, which can even be joined by the small manufacturers, the alliance we propose can be achieved through the united struggle of the Communist Party which has grown in influence, of a Socialist Party which has determinedly moved to the left, and of a Christian democracy that has broken with the PSC.

That will be the beginning of an alliance which we think will be an historic one because it is suitable in scope to this stage and the stage after it, which will lead to socialism and build it.

The alliance we propose is not a temporary one. It is a basic alliance for the future, for with this alliance we want to give a new political appearance to Belgium and to renew its structures.

This is why, in the theses that were presented for the preparatory discussion in the congress, we reserved such a large place for the problems of socialism.

#### Socialism and the Present

Socialism is still in the future, to be sure. But opinions regarding socialism in Belgium are already beginning to influence the solutions to present problems.

We do not hide our plans. In our opinion, the stage now beginning and the activity of the anti-monopoly government for which we are struggling will head in the direction of socialism in Belgium and it may be that only a little time will elapse between the end of the present [new] stage and the active struggle for socialism.

These are factors which public opinion senses in a confused manner. But it is pleased by certain perspectives and displeased by others. And it desires to know what course it will have to follow in forming certain alliances, and here we must take into consideration the extent and duration of all the rantings against communism.

We want as much light shed on our aims as possible, because the idea of joining an alliance with the Communists to establish socialism is a powerful aid today to the alliance for the anti-monopoly stage.

Reaction realizes this quite well when it attacks the Communist Party, not because of the latter's present action but for its plans and because of the fact that it struggles together with the Socialist camp and wants to emulate it to build socialism.

It is of primary importance for our struggle today to give good explanations of our views on the socialism of tomorrow, and this we are doing in our theses.

#### The Socialism for Which We Are Fighting

Thus, we say in the clearest manner possible that the establishment of socialism will take place when the majority of the Belgian citizens want it, and on the basis of an alliance of good faith, a lasting alliance among workers' parties, trade unions, cooperatives, mutual aid groups, middle class organizations, cultural organizations, and democratic organizations.

We say clearly that within this alliance, each party and organization will not be able to impose its views by maneuvers or by using force against its allies and that the working class intends to convince its allies of its ideas in the course of discussions and through democratic solutions in which each allied social category will have a share.

#### The Peaceful Transition

We say too that our perspective of the transition to socialism is a peaceful one. Naturally, whether the transition will be a violent one or not depends on the circumstances. And since this transition is an historical necessity, the Belgian working class and its allies will not draw back before the sacrifices they will have to make if the conditions are not right for a peaceful transition. But the perspective we offer as one of action is a plan of peace because the circumstances are favorable at present (the power and expansion of the Socialist camp, the rise of the labor movement, and the weakening of imperialism). It is a plan which depends on the power of the alliance to achieve socialism, for the stronger the alliance is, the more resolute the struggle becomes and the less the money powers are able to have recourse to bloody ventures to maintain their domination.

And it is in the name of the possibilities of a peaceful transition to socialism that we criticize so adamantly today those who seek to divide the working class, the sectarians who do not understand the community of interests among workers, farmers, artisans, and small merchants, those who are today harming the cohesion of the forces which will build socialism tomorrow.

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In stating these considerations, we repeat that the thesis of the peaceful transition to socialism not only pertains to the future but concerns primarily the present.

In the same way, we express our will to build a durable alliance -- included in a Socialist regime -- by being today scrupulously loyal in our work within workers' organizations, in the trade unions, in our relations with the Socialist and Christian workers, in our relations with youth organizations, in the organizations defending peace, in short, by showing today the seriousness of our commitments for tomorrow.

#### Arming the Working Class with an Immediate Program

But where shall we begin, to bring about the triumph of such an ambitious program which demands an alliance so distant from us at present? We can begin by finding out what elements the program can include to enable the Socialist and Christian workers, in the months to come, to begin to unite with the Communist workers, as well as those elements which can interest the farmers and the town middle classes too.

What are the main material and political demands which are decisive for the march forward, for the struggle on all the fields of battle where the workers are at grips with the capitalist monopolies? There is no lack of material demands. The lists of labor demands are generally full. What is needed is an axis for these demands, one which will allow the struggle to be waged on the essential terrain that pertains simultaneously to a large number of categories of workers. Otherwise, the large number of demands has the effect of dividing and weakening, instead of uniting and strengthening them.

#### Reduction of Military Expenditures by Ten Billion

As a beginning thought, let us consider the drive that has been going on since last Autumn and has been setting in motion -- through demonstrations and strikes, obviously in varying degrees -- the workers, employees of the public services, farmers, and middle classes. There is something lacking in these movements which prevents them from glimpsing success, from being decisive and able to overcome obstacles. They lack something which could dissolve the manifest uneasiness of the demonstrators and strikers by giving them faith in the aftermath of their action and in the opportunities to expand their combat.

What is lacking is the political slogan, the financial slogan, the means of resolving the bulk of the demands for which the struggle is being waged. The slogan, "Reduction of military expenditures by 10 billion" is what is lacking, even though there is no doubt that it is taking hold, because the workers have not yet been able to convince their leaders of the necessity of using it on a national scale. This slogan is the link among the needs of the farmers, small merchants and craftsmen, workers, and public service employees.

It is the political slogan on which we can begin to build the anti-monopoly alliance.

Obviously, the Government and the monopolies have been scared to death they might see such a slogan triumph. That is also true of the PSB [Parti Socialiste Belge -- Belgian Socialist Party] and the FGTB [Federation Generale des Travailleurs Belges -- General Federation of Belgian Workers] leaderships because they feel that the maturation of this slogan will give the popular movement an irresistible force which can smash in the wall of the Cold War and assure the triumph of a new policy as frightful to them as it is to the capitalists.

The slogan, "Reduction of military expenditures by 10 billion" is one of the axes of the program that can rapidly unite the popular masses of Belgium.

#### Increase in Wages

The second axis of this immediate program is the slogan of a general increase in wages.

The FGTB seeks to confine the struggle to an increase in the minimum wage levels and in the guaranteed weekly wage. The FGTB and PSB leaders want to block the struggle for factory wage increases in the name of a so-called workers' solidarity, as though the breaches made by the factory workers with regard to wages were not an extremely valuable stimulus for the entire struggle to achieve wage demands.

The struggle to have wages increased is developing very slowly. I do not believe the Communist militants have shown enough boldness to spread the idea of demands for wage increases within each factory so that a general drive could be prepared for the general increase in wages.

The struggle for wage increases is the basic struggle aimed at the employers.

The Social-Democrat leaders assert that Belgium cannot bear a general 10-percent wage increase to satisfy demands. And yet, when the employers have their admitted profits go up 10 percent, one never hears these Rightists exclaim that Belgium cannot bear such an increase. This proves that their concern is one-sided.

Once more then, when we speak of an axis for an immediate program, we mean a demand which is essential and yet not exclusive. Thus, it does not mean that our militants should abandon the struggle for social security which the Communists have been able to win in a large number of enterprises. It is all the more important for them to continue this struggle in view of the fact that the current period of relative prosperity is being accompanied by a steady rise of unemployment at a rather high level.

## How to Defend Democracy and Make It Progress

The third axis is the defense of democracy, the struggle for the reform of structure.

Reactionary forces are planning hard blows against democracy.

Are you not astonished by the insistent manner in which the Government has immoral projects adopted by its majority, at full speed and at any cost, projects which affect parliamentary representation and leniency for acts of treason? It presents us with a trumped-up law as a simple compromise among the parties of the majority. This process is too suspect and indefensible for it to be thought of as being unrelated to an over-all plan against democracy.

It is not by chance that we hear lamentations about the crisis of the regime and the necessity of reforms for our government institutions. These ideas do not come from circles which have demonstrated their adherence to progress, but from suspect and reactionary circles.

We must not hide from ourselves the fact that the anti-democratic campaigns are being nourished by the bad work in Parliament, the actions that show scorn for public opinion and commitments, and the inability of the majority of the deputies and senators to shake off the despotism of the Capitalist monopolies.

The danger is a real one. In the present period, democracy is not defended by being satisfied with the status quo, but by leading the struggle for the development of democracy, especially for reforms in governmental institutions.

## To Carry Through the Struggle for Structural Reforms

In fact, there is much talk about structural reforms, but it must be admitted that very little is actually being done to make the extent of such reforms understood and to get public opinion to think more about them.

What preparations can be made for this important leap into the future? Above all, the struggle to win demands can be guided by showing it how much more could be attained through nationalization, i.e., the democratic control of essential sectors. Above all too, there must be a struggle against the shutting down of collieries that are still rich in reserves, against the shutting down of factories in Flanders and Wallonia being carried out in defiance of the interests of the country and the workers.

That is a difficult struggle, in which the workers have until now had very little success, despite the courageous fight of the Communists, despite the fact that the Communists have directed -- better than they did before -- battles for the defense of the collieries.

### To Fight Against the Closing of Factories

The main cause of these mediocre results is the fact that we are not succeeding in having labor solidarity clearly expressed, the need for general solidarity around the workers who are defending their pits.

The Rightist propaganda uses the same refrains as the reactionary government. The capitalists have plundered the collieries so much and there were so many afflictions that the workers have not always been aware that the defense of the coal industry is right and serves progress.

And yet, coal is indispensable to Belgium. The best proof of that is that the coal imports have increased in the same proportion that Belgian coal production has diminished.

Rarely have the promises of the Government been so poorly kept. There were the Government's promises right after the big strikes in February 1959. We remember the shameful compromise signed by the trade unions, in which the leaders of the Right and the Left pretended to believe the Eyskens Government, driven by their intention of stopping the struggle.

We must perfect our struggle to defend our coal industry and find, in the light of a new situation, new forms of solidarity and action. Above all, let us not relax in our struggle for the defense of our collieries, as it is the struggle -- somewhat different from the others, to be sure -- of the workers' interests that are threatened by the capitalist concentration, by the acceleration in implementing the Common Market.

### To Improve the Existing National Companies

Lastly, we will help the idea of democracy moving forward with a leap by engaging in a concrete and current struggle to improve the existing national companies such as the Societe Nationale des Chemins de Fer [National Railroad Company], which is operating in accordance with the interests of the capitalist monopolies, and to improve the management of the local trolley car lines and of the trolley car companies.

Who will dispute the fact that these companies are poor examples of how to nationalize companies and cannot be used as models for the nationalization of collieries or credit? The struggle for improvement for the benefit of the passengers and personnel of the Societe Nationale des Chemins de Fer, for example, is the proving ground for the labor organizations seeking structural reforms and nationalization. I believe our Congress ought to include, in our program of struggle against the capitalist monopolies, the proposal for the establishment of an investment company to provide 100,000 new jobs in 4 or 5 years, such a company having been proposed by Comrade Van Geyt in the discussion period.

The reduction of the military expenditures by 3 billion, the increase in wages, and the reform of government institutions, such are in our opinion the three axes of an immediate program of struggle for the working class of Belgium.

## New Tasks Vis-a-Vis the Congo

I should like to bring up now two themes that are part of any important struggle and are related to the axes I just mentioned. First of all there is the Congo. You all know how economic relations between the Congo and Belgium are evolving. The plan of the capitalist monopolies and the Belgian government is clear. Having been compelled to yield on the matter of independence, they are now counting on keeping almost intact their economic hold on the Congo. They hope to be able to hoax the Congolese, to keep control of the Congo's purse strings, maintain the chartered companies, and influence its foreign trade and foreign policy.

The Van Zeelands and the Wignys are not concealing their aim to draw the Congo into the Atlantic Pact or into some other vehicle of this kind under the pretext of supplying it with capital, but in reality to dominate the Congo and keep the NATO bases in it.

Such plans will meet with resistance in the Congo, but the effectiveness of certain international pressures must not be underestimated.

It is true that certain Congolese parties have stressed all the danger in financial agreements concluded before complete independence, agreements which would commit the future Congolese government and limit the means at its disposal to settle the most pressing social problems now prevalent in the Congo.

Our party is of the opinion that Belgium is interested in cementing relations on the basis of equality with the independent Congo State without the interference of the American billionaires or the French and British financiers.

Belgium is interested in providing the new state with the financial aid it may request, with as much advantage for the Congo, the disposition of funds in the most favorable way for the development of the Congolese economy, a minimum of profit for the Belgian banks, and the lack of political conditions.

The two countries, Congo and Belgium, have a mutual interest in good economic relations, in as extensive trade as possible.

The Congo needs industrial equipment, materiel to pave roads, fertilizers and farm machinery, in short, products which Belgium can furnish for the greatest advantage to the economy of the Congo.

Belgium, for its part, is interested in obtaining in exchange raw materials from the Congo.

Besides, the better the Congo will resolve its social problems, the more its domestic market will expand and the more the Belgian-Congolese economic relations will tend to expand.

It is the Belgian capitalist monopolies which, controlled by the race for profit, have plundered the Congo instead of developing it, have put its production out of balance, and have shrunken its domestic market, all of which was destined to strain the relations between the Congo and Belgium.

The Belgian Communist Party will struggle for the maximum economic independence for the Congo.

It will also support the struggle of the populations of Ruanda-Urundi for its independence.

We shall support all the social struggles of the Congolese workers against the Belgian exploiters. We shall fight at the side of the Congolese so that the Belgian capitalists are forced to raise wages in the Congo and contribute to the financing of social security.

Good work, comrades of the Congo, we wish you much success in the trade union and political organization of your forces, many victories against your exploiters.

We have no confidence in the Eyskens government to serve the cause of political and economic independence of the Congo. We know that the Eyskens government and the capitalist monopolies it represents will try to trick you and bitterly resist the solutions that will bring progress.

You can count on the Belgian working class organized to support you in your struggles!

#### To Intensify the Struggle Against German Rearmament

The second problem is that of the struggle against German rearmament.

We must recognize our inadequacies in this field, the need to reorient the direction of our work for peace. We must give a very important place to the denunciation of the danger of vindictive Germany just as we did some years ago, start a campaign to alert public opinion by actions directed against the Eyskens government which favors German rearmament and German arms depots in Belgium, and participate on a mass scale in all the demonstrations that will be organized in Belgium on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the crushing of fascism.

To the problem of the struggle against German rearmament and in defense of democracy, I should like to link the problem of the struggle against the policy of leniency toward treason. I speak of the treason of the leading classes, for it is above all the economic collaborators, the leaders who were the political and military allies of Hitler who are benefiting today from the laws which free them from penance and grant them amnesty.

Even if these laws are passed by Parliament, we shall not abandon the struggle. We shall continue it and broaden it in concert with the patriotic organizations, on the basis of the disclosures made by Gaston Moulin in the Chamber.

#### What Is the Transition Government to Be Like?

But let us return to the immediate program and its three axes.

This immediate program must enable the elaboration of a governmental program, and here I am not speaking of the anti-monopoly government but of one formed to replace that of M. Eyskens, i.e., a transition government.

The Eyskens government is deeply divided, undermined by its political inability to settle a series of urgent problems. The faster the labor movement agrees on a program, the faster a new governmental formula based on relaxation of tension will mature, and the more quickly will we be rid of the Eyskens government and its ill-omened policy.

Now, the Socialist leaders think it better not to speak of a new government or of a program, that the thing to do is allow the situation to deteriorate, to worsen it, and to add to the sacrifices of the little people. This is the worst kind of policy and is not such as to disturb the Eyskens government or to aid the labor movement.

In the meanwhile, talks are going ahead fast behind the scenes. PSC and Socialist leaders are meeting in an effort to reach agreement. If the labor movement does not take heed, it may well find itself faced tomorrow with a government formed of self-styled "Democrats" with a program that will resemble like a brother those of Van Acker and Eyskens.

The labor movement has learned to mistrust the governmental seesaw which has been in motion for 10 years and in which a Rightist government succeeds a so-called Leftist government, which in turn paves the way for another Rightist one.

The workers hope for something else. It is essential for the labor movement itself to get a new perspective of social achievements and of political change in the direction of the relaxation of international tension, a perspective that will promote the formation of more progressive governments.

#### The Alliances in the Present Period

Now let us take up the problem of present alliances. The Socialist movement has slid undeniably to the left. The desire for a political change, although still vague, is being expressed in its organizations and congresses.

For current events give food for thought. The action of the Communist Party also furthers an understanding of events and helps orient the struggles to be undertaken.

Let us try to examine more closely this movement toward the left, both hesitant and unorganized. Let us try to discern which are its motivating and which its blocking elements.

Let us say at once how dangerous it is to make categorical classifications by saying "This one is Rightist, that one is on the left" at a time when the immediate program of the working class has not yet been discussed and when the declarations of a general Leftist tendency scarcely conceal its skepticism as to the possibilities of immediate action.

There is in the Socialist Party that tight group of leaders who want to go backwards and who, active behind the scenes, patiently wait for their hour to come, convinced that "all that will pass by."

#### The Tendencies in Social-Democracy Toward the Left

The huge mass of Socialists are disappointed that changes are so long in coming and see that Citizen Collard, the new president of the PSB, is always a prisoner of the contradictions of his party. They had thought that the problem at hand was to be handled by one man, who would decide what direction must be taken and what action as well. They are realizing today that the road of changes is more complicated than that.

The Socialist parliamentarians who are sympathetic to the idea of a change in policy are certainly few in number so far and, it must be stated, have a very difficult task because they hesitate to become the spokesmen of the opinions coming from the workers in the enterprises.

The union militants, at odds with the major tendency, exhaust their energies in discussions of matters of secondary importance. No one would underestimate the value of their statements on the recognition of China and the need for national unity. But these statements are not at all part of any over-all program, are limited in scope, and have no effect on the immediate problems to be solved.

The newspaper La Gauche [The Left] has undeniably played a role in the adoption of positions by the PSB. It wages interesting special campaigns but cautiously abstains from discussing burning questions, such as the questions of demands which would annoy the Rightists, and this fact cuts the newspaper off from the mass action and gives it the appearance of being outside the labor movement.

This trait is even more marked in Links [Left], which appears to be the organ of a group of Socialist intellectuals full of good intentions with regard to the people, but actually inactive and irresponsible.

The JGS groups also are given to these defects, which gives them that dogmatic and extreme-Leftist appearance.

#### The True Left Which Is Developing

Why is there such separation between this general aspiration for a more just and combative policy and the cramped role of the forces calling themselves Leftist in the Socialist movement? It is because they are not hitched to the labor movement, because they think only in an extremely disorganized way about the political problems and problems regarding demands, both of which are presented right in the enterprises, and about the solutions these problems require.

Without underestimating all the tendencies toward the Left, let us know how to discern the true Left where it is really located, the Left being formed in the Socialist movement by dint of an extremely difficult development. It consists of men, often trade unionists, who in

their relations with the Communist workers are speaking their mind about positions which seem to them to be just even if their Socialist newspaper maintains a silence on the matter, even if their leaders advise them to be cautious. These are men who, knowingly or otherwise, acting with us today and with the Christian militants and workers tomorrow, are building the immediate program of the working class and will make it triumph through their organization, against the capitalists and Rightists.

This true Left in the heart of the labor organizations is the one that is developing most quickly and will help bring about an efficacious change in the Socialist Party.

We say indeed "through their organizations." We are struggling to have the Socialist movement and the trade unions join fighting positions. We are not dreaming of schism but of a fighting unity which will make the Leftist tendency of the labor movement so exemplary as to induce the Christian labor movement to join it.

#### The Indispensable Alliance with the Christian Workers

We call to mind the struggle of the Christian workers and organizations. We know, however, that it will be hard to induce them to join the struggle on a common platform, because the Church watches jealously over the cohesion linking the Christian trade unions with the PSC led by capitalist monopolies. It constantly exerts pressure on the leaders of the Christian unions and on the Parliamentarians influenced by them.

The obstacle is so enormous as to appear insurmountable.

This is all the more true because, in spite of our orientation toward the rallying of the Christian unions to the popular action, we have actually accomplished very little. We really went no farther than to adopt a position of principle. Aside from the isolated and sporadic efforts made, we have not approached the Christian unions consistently, systematically, or with specific ideas. We merely relied on spontaneous action.

#### The Possible Role of Joint Action

It is indispensable that we have a clear view of the direction of our slogans, of the immediate program, and of the alliances to be broached. The road to take is via the FGTB assemblies, the trade unions, and the Joint Action, in all of which Communists and Socialists meet side by side as members of the FGTB.

It is through Joint Action, beginning with the local level, that it is possible to elaborate -- with the participation of the Communists -- the immediate program and the proposals to be made to the Christian organizations.

Some comrades among us may think that such a road is illusory, just as it seemed illusory some years ago to be able to take part in the Joint Action assemblies. Today, comrades have engaged in a demonstration that now needs only to be generalized.

We are making public the road of our action, of the perspectives we are offering to the labor movement.

It will not be an easy road, all the more because the rightists pull themselves together and try to intimidate Communist militants and leftist Socialists who are struggling to make instruments of combat out of the workers' organizations.

If the Communists engage in this action publicly, in the enterprises and the town quarters, if they clearly explain the aims they want to attain together with all the workers, if they are the most active of all, and if they can find the right kind of slogans that can mobilize others, then the rightist positions and the rightists themselves will be beaten.

#### The Broad Lines of Action of Our Party

What then must be the broad lines of the work of the party to effect an immediate program for the workers' and popular unity?

In the first place, each organization should undertake to give explanations in public, to have concrete talks with the Socialist and Christian labor militants, and with the Parliamentarians who will be under popular pressure on the three main points of the program. For this purpose, each organization must organize a powerful campaign this summer of meetings, talks, and massive distribution of a brochure based on the work of our congress and outlining the plan for immediate action proposed by our 13th Congress.

In the second place, it will be necessary to undertake, as has already been started in a considerable number of places, to get the workers' assemblies and the unions to express their demands with regard to the Government and the employers.

Can there be any Communist organization, in a quarter or enterprise, which is unable to do what has been done in Charleroi, for example?

In the third place, we must get the workers' assemblies and the unions to speak out in favor of the elaboration and discussion of a program of Joint Action, one that will be able to unite all the workers, all the working masses.

In the fourth place, we must promote political action and action to obtain demands in as large a number of enterprises and quarters as possible and employing all appropriate forms of action.

These then are the kinds of action which must inspire the Communists and the party's organizations.

Of course, we should not attempt to adopt these categories of action in any particular sequence or feel that one can only follow a certain other. Instead, they must be combined as we mount attacks that will be examples for the whole party and the entire labor movement, and will be decisive in setting up alliances with the Christian workers and organizations, the farmers, and the town middle classes.

## For a New Style for Our Party

We shall have done well at this congress if, after a thorough discussion, we agree on two important ideas:

1. The idea that the situation is undergoing change, that huge new opportunities are present for the popular organizations to establish peace definitively, make considerable improvement in the material and cultural standard of living, make a leap forward in democracy, and effect a rapprochement with socialism.

2. The idea that in the coming months we must at any cost arm the workers' organizations with an immediate program which will give direction and perspective to their struggle.

It is the unity of the entire party around these two major ideas which will enable the Communist Party to play its role as a vanguard, to participate decisively in the transformation of Belgium.

There is no other party in Belgium that can play this indispensable role. And that is why there must be the utmost seriousness of purpose and a maximum will in the work of our party.

This great task has nothing to do with playing the role merely of a contributor, a goad, a stimulator, an animator, or just an honest critic. We must play an ever-increasing leading role in the labor struggle by providing slogans that unify and perspectives, and by sheer will to bring about the triumph of the struggles in which the Communists are involved.

It is no longer a question of "being in the labor movement," as we once sought to do, or of participating in the struggles. Our problem now is to assume the leadership of the struggles so as to beat the rightists on the battleground of ideas, to give perspectives, and to take up the inevitable anti-monopoly struggle together with all or almost all the militants of the labor movement. We must assert our authority through militants able to take the leadership in the movements, from the strictly local movements to the largest, and to lead them to victory.

Our role is no longer merely that of giving rightful criticism and energetically denouncing the maleficence of the rightist positions, but to learn how to beat them daily by having the conviction that a great experience is being brought about by the workers and that the bases of compromise between the rightists and the capitalists are appreciably reduced. This is all the more necessary because we are approaching the working masses in our capacity as militants who have been going in the right direction all along, who have for over 10 years seen through the Atlantic frauds: the Marshall Plan, [the plan for?] Europe, the Schuman Plan, the European Coal and Steel Community, the Common Market, and the Atlantic Pact.

The labor masses, even if we influence only a part of them, realize in spite of everything that we have maintained points of view that have been proved correct by events.

An examination can be made of all our newspapers, tracts, brochures, and slogans -- we have nothing to disavow. Our militants do not have to exclaim, "That is not what we wanted!" as do the pitiful politicians faced with the ravages of the CECA and the Atlantic policy they supported.

It is with our head high that we lay claim to the pre-war hard work carried out against capitalism and fascism, the heroic resistance of the Communists in the anti-fascist war, and the courageous struggle for peace in the Cold War years.

There is one party in Belgium which can draw up a balance sheet of struggles that have been as lucid, tenacious, courageous, and responsible, and that is our Communist Party.

To be sure, we have gone through difficult periods internally. We had to make certain changes in policy, about 6 years ago, on the eve of the 11th congress of our party, held in Vilvorde. But in Vilvorde, we did not renounce our struggle for peace and against the ascendancy of the American billionaires, against the Atom Bomb, and against the rearmament of West Germany.

We have nothing to rectify regarding the basic nature of the political problems. Our rectification had to do with the form our political activity should take so as to unite the labor class and bring about the victory of its struggles. Our rectification also was concerned with our appreciation of the Belgian labor movement and of its organizations, and with the road to follow to have our slogans for peace and progress triumph.

We are very happy about having made such changes in our work. We are not thinking solely of ourselves in thus expressing our satisfaction; we are also thinking of all those who are militant in the labor movement, of all the militants of the left who hope for changes in the Belgian Socialist Party or in the trade unions, and who would be interested in analyzing the road we have traversed, for they would derive teachings from it which would aid them immensely in their own efforts.

In the same way, when the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union made rectifications regarding the cult of a personality and the methods of work, such rectifications should not concern the Communists alone but should also interest the entire labor movement.

Do I exaggerate when I say that a good number of Socialist and trade union leaders would find it quite useful to study the documents published by the Soviet Communists on the cult of the personality?

The Congress at Vilvorde was a trial full of perils for our party. But at the end of that congress, we parted with a policy.

The years that followed were primarily devoted to uniting the entire party around the Vilvorde resolutions and putting them into practice. Let us admit that the way has been hard. It was fortunate for us that we had the Vilvorde Congress, for thanks to it, we can approach the new period with a party that is politically more capable and will quickly grasp the political richness of the current changes.

Now I should like to insist on four themes of work that are indispensable for the success of our political work.

First, organize the party better and continue the work of recruitment. The party members have learned with satisfaction that our numbers increased last year, in only a modest proportion, it is true, but on the scale of the entire country. The essential thing is to open the doors of the party wide to the workers, especially the young factory workers, to recruit boldly, to integrate these new energies in the daily task, and this last part, I agree, will be more difficult than the others.

Second, we must provide training, especially by concentrating on the new members. Unfortunately, our inadequacies in this field, so important for our activity, are all too apparent. However, we must not under-estimate the efforts made last autumn and winter, when the courses on the federal level were often successes due to the number of students and their assiduousness. But we must admit that the effort is meager in view of the requirements of the times and that therefore the way to develop our instructional work now is by organizing a network of monitors capable of getting an even greater number of training groups in operation.

Third, we must wage a true press campaign, our press being an essential instrument for unity of viewpoint in our party, as a decisive element of its expansion and influence.

Finally, we are obliged, in the period immediately preceding [the new one], to form systematically new cadres on all levels, a very difficult task in our party. We are scarcely in agreement on the question of the men or principles to guide the formation of cadres.

The coming struggles will bring out new cadres who will have to be integrated into our committees. Let us boldly promote those young workers who show their worth in the struggle, young especially by their comprehension of the times and of the chances of victory, young in their thinking and good fortune, young in the [vigorous] quality of their combat.

It will be one of the tasks of the next Central Committee to make arrangements whereby these promotions are made wisely and frankly and are guided by the party spirit.

To succeed in promoting new cadres, the main thing today is to recruit them. Recruitment is much easier than it was during the 10 years of Cold War which began with the assassination of Julien Lahaut. And it is easier too to be a Communist today than before.

In the first years of the party's existence, the Communists were people of a special stamp, being workers who were exceptional for their courage and faith. Today, when the Socialist camp has triumphed for all time and humanity is on the march, the Communist ideas are more and more becoming the ideas of everybody. They will always continue to do so because they reflect the development of reality.

In these conditions, it is our task to recruit vigorously and in the proportion required by the situation.

I have concluded. The members of the Central Committee, the Committee of Inspection of the Party, and of the Central Financial Committee return their mandate to the disposition of the party.

Discussion will open on the activity reports and the perspectives we want to present to the Belgian labor movement.

But first, permit me to greet from the bottom of my heart the delegates of the brother parties who came in such great number to our congress to bring living testimony of their fraternal solidarity.

There are those who come from far off. Others came from the heart of Africa to attest here to the community of interests and of the struggles of the Congolese and Belgian workers.

In your name, I say to all: "Be welcome among us, we appreciate to the utmost degree your presence and the interest you have in our struggles."

Thanks also to the brother parties which have not been able to send representatives and who sent a message.

To all, the Communists of Belgium express their fraternal sentiments and wish great success in their battle for peace and the happiness of men.

I should like also to express my confidence in the future action of the party.

We shall succeed because we know where the Belgian labor movement is going, because our efforts are included in a world front of struggle against financial feudalism, and because the Belgian Communists are working elbow to elbow with the Communists of the whole world, the strongest world political movement, inasmuch as we are united around the 20th and 21st Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, around the declaration of the 64 Communist and labor parties, and around the recent conference in Rome of the 17 Communist parties of Europe.

We repeat energetically and with the faith of the heart and soul: No, history will not repeat itself!

We shall establish definitely the reign of peace, democracy, and progress!

We shall spread the extent of communism which, as Comrade Khrushchev said, is the most humane and most humanitarian of all.

Long live the labor movement! Long live the labor organizations!  
LONG LIVE PEACE! LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

B. BURNELLE'S CONCLUDING REPORT TO CONGRESS  
(Ernest Burnelle Draws Conclusions from  
the Work of the 13th National Congress;  
the Task of the Communist Party: To Give  
the Masses the Way to a New Policy)

Le Drapeau Rouge

20 April 1960, Brussels

Page 1, French (Belgian) daily np (Communist)

It was with sustained applause that Ernest Burnelle, National Secretary, set forth the conclusions of the 3 days of work of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party. Following is the gist of the ideas developed in this speech which marked the end of our Congress in Liege.

I wish to thank the delegates of the brother parties whose presence among us, and especially the messages to our congress, are a demonstration of a great political significance in the international solidarity of the Communist parties. We have been able to see once again that above and beyond their varied situations, the Communist parties all are intent on working together to achieve a single objective, that of struggling together for the happiness of men.

Confidence in the Future

What do you think of the Congress? As for me, I think there is good reason to be very satisfied. We have taken stock of the fine quality of our cadres, cadres who we feel are authentic labor militants, men who have demonstrated their knowledge of the problems raised by the labor struggle and have also demonstrated their liaison with the people, and militants who can influence the labor movement.

Our Congress was a critical one. By that I mean that the spirit of reflection and analysis, the effort to weigh things carefully, and the will to amend our theses for the better have generally prevailed in the development of our work. Nor was it by chance, for it was the result of work that has gone on for several years, and of organization which did not begin with the preparations for the congress, but a long time before. We have learned to discuss things as Communists.

Our Congress has been a demonstration of confidence in the future and also of political maturity. We were anxious to take up the most important problems and this concern was powerfully transmitted into a discussion which was unceasingly fraternal. Thus the unanimity reached on the theses was the result of the utmost reflection. This vote of confidence, this political vote stemmed from the fact that the congress understood quite well the new and positive facets of the theses; it shows that the party is now more aware of the importance of the new ideas expressed in the theses and that the relative dryness of this document was not an insurmountable obstacle to their wide diffusion within the party.

That will no doubt enable us to resume the political struggle under better conditions and to profit more extensively from the changes taking place in the labor movement. These are objective changes, being determined by changes in facts and reality, both on a world-wide scale and in Belgium itself. The workers are becoming aware of these changes and that is why the general tendency is to move toward the positions of the Left.

We are just beginning, but we must not think that things will develop of their own accord. It is the Communist Party which has the decisive mission of showing the masses the way of thoughtful activity and can only do so to the extent that it gets even more into the labor movement. If we want our theses to bear fruit, we must blend them with life, spread our ideas within and outside the party, and be at all times the pillars of the labor action.

#### Making Use of Experiences

Now I should like to say a few words about unity of the party and about discipline. We have advanced much since the Vilvorde Congress. There is no better proof of that than this congress. But we still have to go a long way to make our party a true Marxist-Leninist party. It is imperative to increase discipline, discipline that is freely consented to as the result of political reflection. In this regard, I think it well to recall that the 11th Congress was concerned with more discipline and, under the circumstances, with better application of the principles of democratic centralism.

The discipline in our ranks still leaves something to be desired. Allow me to give an example of this. We needed much time -- over a year -- to unite the party around the slogan "security of existence," a slogan which has been amply justified by experience. But that was too much time; a month should have been enough.

Now we shall undertake a great task of giving explanations about the theses. Let us begin at once, comrades, and let us combine the explanations with action. We must single out the essential questions and rapidly learn from the interesting experiences of this or that organization of the party.

Some comrades have criticized certain aspects of our action for peace. And it is true that the evolution in this field is so rapid that we have been behind at times. It is also true that our struggle for peace must first be directed against the Government and its Cold War policy. Let each cell do all it can to effect wider acceptance of the slogan for the reduction of military expenditures by 10 billion, for that is an essential question.

Moreover, let us take inspiration from the messages of our brother parties which have properly emphasized the gravity of the rearmament of West Germany. The slogans against this policy and against the installation of German military bases in Belgium will have to be well displayed in our 1 May demonstrations.

There are human problems in our party and these must be settled correctly, in a Communist spirit, by applying democratic centralism appropriately and by adhering above all to the interests of the party. There is no opposition between the party interests and those of men; the wisest solution is always the most human.

Comrades, we have a tremendous amount of opportunities. We are much stronger than is generally imagined. The thing that is now regressing and decaying in Belgium is not communism but rather the anti-Communist prejudices nourished by the Cold War propaganda.

#### A Good Congress

More and more workers are coming to understand that anti-communism is alien to the spirit of men and to their true needs and that it is a factor of impotence for them. We must become aware of these changes so as to show ourselves to be more on the offensive and so as to bring out appropriately the two principal aspects of our work: that of being precise and concrete about current problems; and that of giving full evidence of our faith in the future of communism, thus following the magnificent example of our Comrade Khrushchev.

Comrades, we can all be pleased with our congress. Let its decisions be a "pact" for each of us, binding us and guiding us in such a way that our 14th Congress will be able to draw up a positive balance sheet of our action in the 2 coming years, in fact a balance sheet of victory!

Good work, comrades!

Let us get immediately down to action!

Long live the labor movement!

Long live the Communist Party!

Long live communism!

C. MESSAGE OF ITALIAN DELEGATE TO CONGRESS  
(P. Ingrao: Your Problems Are Similar  
to the Italian Problems)

Le Drapeau Rouge  
20 April 1960, Brussels  
Page 4, French (Belgian) daily np (Communist)

Comrade Pietro Ingrao, National Secretary, represented along with Comrade Alvo Fontani the Italian Communist Party at the 13th Congress of the Belgian Communist Party. He stated: "In greeting your party, we greet the son of the glorious Belgian labor movement, the great heritage of the struggles of the working class of your country, the social conquests which the Belgian working class has succeeded in winning through all the years of hard combat, the great battles it is now waging, to defend the right to work, against capitalist exploitation, for the liquidation of colonialism and the independence of the Congo, and for peace. We greet the protagonists of the heroic strikes of February 1959 which were among the most massive popular manifestations in the last few years.

"There exists between our two peoples a deep and special kind of liaison, represented by hundreds of thousands of Italian emigrants who are compelled to come and find work in your country. The name of Marcinelle recalls to us a common tragedy and a common struggle. Thus in the name of the Italian emigrants, I thank you for the courageous battle you are waging to defend the rights of all the workers, without distinction as to nationality, in the spirit of proletarian internationalism."

"Moreover," he added, "many of the problems you are discussing in this congress are similar to ours. The question of widening labor unity and of a firm alliance of the working class with the peasants and middle social strata is our main question too, the question that is decisive for a change in the situation."

Comrade Ingrao also brought out the fact that "regarding the crisis of Social-Democracy, at the moment when the Catholic movement is shaken by deep internal contradictions, it is up to us to present ourselves as the most extensive and unitary force; it is up to us to point the precise way to a new stride for labor and democracy in the entire capitalist West.

"For that reason, we are profoundly interested in discussing with you and with all the brother parties those problems which must be solved to break the barriers of anti-communism, to achieve the most extensive agreements, and to convince and conquer new forces over to the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism."

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D. MESSAGE OF FRENCH DELEGATE TO CONGRESS  
(R. Guyot: The Friendship Which Unites  
Belgium and France)

Le Drapeau Rouge

20 April 1960, Brussels

Page 4, French (Belgian) daily np (Communist)

Raymond Guyot, member of the Political Bureau of the French Communist Party, stated notably that "our two peoples esteem and understand one another profoundly. And it is not geography which has played the greatest role by making them neighbors. The strong friendship uniting our two countries has its origin in the cruel trials undergone in common twice during this century because of the unleashing of German militarism, with its most bestial form appearing from 1940 to 1945: Hitlerism.

"On the eve of the Summit Conference, we Belgians and French feel, do we not, the imperative need to act in common so as to drive off forever the frightful nightmare of German militarism at our Eastern borders.

".... I should like, in closing, to tell you how much the French workers were filled with enthusiasm at the announcement of the great strikes in the Borinage in February 1959. In the industrial regions and especially in the mining basin of the North and Pas-de-Calais, the workers affirmed their solidarity with their Belgian brothers. One can never give enough homage to the miners of the Borinage; it is, in fact, the most powerful movement of this kind to have taken place in the post-war period."

After having stressed "our common duties with regard to those persons living at the border," Raymond Guyot said: "We who are waging a great fight against a colonial war that has lasted almost 6 years have appreciated your efforts for the support of the Congolese people which, in its turn, is going to acquire its independence, just as Cameroon, Madagascar, and Mali are now doing." He added: "We are at your side in the combat for the realization of the program of action your 13th Congress has just adopted and in your combat for labor unity."

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2. DOCTRINARIAN ARTICLES BY CHIEF EDITOR OF  
AUSTRIAN COMMUNIST PARTY JOURNAL

A. COEXISTENCE AND SOCIALISM

Weg und Ziel

Franz Marek

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We are probably at the threshold of a new period -- we hope. People will call this the time of peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism. Peaceful -- because the conflicts between the two systems should and would unfold without war; competition -- because it happens to be a contest for the sympathies of the world's peoples; we communists are convinced that this contest will end in the victory of socialism.

When we state this conviction of ours, our opponents are infuriated. "That just goes to show you," say our enemies, "how the communists toy with this slogan of coexistence. They have not abandoned their goal; they still want to conquer the world; nothing has changed in their aggressive behavior." We have indeed not abandoned our goal. What serious movement would do that? We really want to win the hearts and minds of the world's peoples. What important ideologist would renounce this aim? The novel aspect here obviously consists in the fact that -- despite conflicting opinions and intentions -- there is an excellent chance to eliminate wars and military intervention from the conflicts of the two systems and to leave it to each nation to choose its own way. Nixon's trip to the Soviet Union and Khrushchev's visit to the United States were international forum discussions, if you will; they were a kind of voter meetings, where the listeners and observers throughout the world had a chance to judge and to evaluate.

This possibility of peaceful coexistence arose on the basis of the change in the balance of power between the forces involved and the major defeat of the Cold War and the "policy of leading from strength." The reactionary putsch in Indonesia and the revolutions in Iraw and Cuba have demonstrated that it has become considerably more difficult for the imperialists to resort to intervention against decisions by the people; we have seen that a people, whose majority decides on a certain way, today has much more of a chance than in the past when it comes to actually taking this new road. The shift in the balance of power in world policy toward socialism has increased the outlook for peaceful coexistence in a happy turn of events. But that does not mean that peaceful coexistence is tied to the signing of a written guarantee for the perpetuation of capitalism. Who would have the right to sign such a warranty in the name of the world's nations?

## Peace and Socialism

Coexistence -- the side-by-side existence of countries with different ways of life -- is the unmistakable characteristic of a period which began with the victory of the new social order in one country and which will end in the victory of this order in all countries; this is a period, therefore, in which we already have countries employing this new, loftier principle, as well as countries still living under the old social order which is doomed to perish. After all, feudal countries existed alongside capitalistic countries well into our own times. But the trend of history is quite clear. Our belief in the inevitable triumph of socialism is by no means similar to the logic of a certain character which is to be found in many textbooks on logic; this character is supposed to add a larger sum of figures; as he keeps adding over and over again, he says: "If it has all come out alright so far, it will keep on coming out alright." We are sure of the victory of socialism throughout the world, not because more and more countries took the road to socialism in the wake of World War II. Our conviction is based on a law which has been confirmed by history -- the law of motion of history. The fact that we use this law as our foundation does not demonstrate our aggressive, but our progressive character.

We are happy in the knowledge that the victory of socialism throughout the world has now become conceivable without military clashes between the two systems. War is the only way in which the law of the development of humanity can be disproved and cancelled out through the elimination of humanity itself -- through its physical destruction.

We want socialism for live nations, not for surviving cave dwellers -- but we certainly do want it. Why should we renounce socialism in the name of peaceful coexistence? After all, we can thank socialism for the peaceful character of coexistence.

Some bourgeois theoreticians demand the renunciation of competition between the two systems in the name of peace. Socialism is supposed to allow a certain amount of private ownership of the means of production and capitalism is supposed to take over some features from socialist planned economy. The idea is that this mixture of the two systems would eliminate competition. But this would also mean a renunciation of socialism; it is no mere coincidence that the same theoreticians say that this mixed society of tomorrow would not be led by the working class, but by the technocrats, the automation experts. Now, there is no doubt that the breakthrough of socialism will be connected with many transitional and hybrid forms, with varying concatenations of past and future things. But the breakthrough will take place in one direction: the things, which in the transitional forms will represent those features of the old order that are marked for perdition, will sooner or later have to go. The working class will be the decisive executor of this development. The law of motion of history does not accept any guarantee certificates; it cannot be outsmarted.

The communist movement also had people who, in the discussions after 1956, demanded the renunciation of socialism in the name of peace. These ideas sprang from an inferiority visavis the West, from the retreat in the face of a propaganda which made the "policy of strength" look like the policy of the stronger. In the meantime however it has become crystal clear that the chances for peace improve as socialism grows stronger and that the outlook for peaceful competition has become possible especially because a socialist state is the strongest state on earth. One need not absolutely be for socialism in order to be for peace. But one must absolutely be for peace if one wants socialism. For us communists, the conviction that socialism will prove its superiority quite clearly through peace constitutes an additional source of strength in the fight for peace. We are certain that -- just as in the past, the example of Britain and France accelerated the downfall of feudalism -- the factual demonstration of the superiority of socialism will during this century accelerate the fall of capitalism.

#### The Law of Motion of History

The law of motion of history states that the ownership conditions under which people live and earn their living cannot continue for any length of time if they inhibit the development of production and production forces. The superiority of socialism is quite clear here. The average annual rate of growth of production was 10% in 40 years in the Soviet Union; in the US, the most advanced capitalist country, it was 3.2%; from 1946-1957, it was 15.9% in the Soviet Union and 4.7% in the US. The superiority of socialism is brought out even more when we consider that Russia fell even more behind the West from 1900-1913 -- the years just before World War I, when capitalist development was in full swing in all countries, including Russia. In the past, the bourgeois economists consoled themselves with the theory that the fast pace of development in the Soviet Union could continue only during the initial period of industrialization and that this pace would have to slow down as industrialization progressed. Today, the absolute growth of the Soviet Union is in most products higher than in the US.

The superiority of socialism is further characterized by the constancy of the growth of production and by the fact that it is not interrupted by depressions and recessions. Is it not a sign of the superiority of the socialist requirement-oriented planned economy when American economists report that the three "recessions" in the US after World War II caused a direct loss of 113 billion dollars, a direct loss (due to delay in development) of 300 billion dollars? What could have been done with these colossal sums! How many unemployed became nervous wrecks, how many hopes of young people, who wanted to become trained workers, were dashed?

And this happened in an era in which big capital is forced -- by the existence of socialism and the competition of the two systems -- to push the business boom in order to prevent a depression. Once upon a time, between the two world wars, big capital did not fear depressions; depressions gave big capital a chance to clean out competing weaker enterprises and to cut wages. The strengthening of the Soviet Union in the wake of World War II created a situation in which capital fears depression as the resounding proof of the superiority of socialism -- a situation in which capitalism fears socialism like the plague. "Better war than depression," they said in Wall Street 10 years ago. Now, after the sputniks and luniks, there are more people in Wall Street who would rather not try a war; but the fear of depression remains. In this respect we agree with Ernst Winkler who wrote the following in his brochure Wird die Konjunktur andauern? [Will the Boom Last?].

"What would it mean on the stage of world politics, if America and the Western countries were to sink into depression and chaos -- while the East has full employment and year after year accomplishes its construction programs.... I therefore assert that America cannot afford a depression for foreign policy reasons. America must do everything it possibly can in order to avoid a depression" (page 29).

It does everything it can. And what can it do? Quite a few things, as the experiences of recent years have shown. Government intervention and regulatory measures can effect the course of the business cycle, its pace, and its rhythm. But the contradiction between the possibility of increasing production without limits and the purchasing power, which will fall behind in any case, remains an insoluble problem for the capitalist profit economy; even during a business boom, this contradiction comes out, for when the one blade of the scissors rises a little due to a certain improvement in the standard of living, the other blade rises even more due to the increase in production and productivity; but in this respect, price rises and creeping inflation are the characteristic features of capitalist economy which counteract the growth of purchasing power. Depressions and recessions are therefore unavoidable under capitalism. A depression need not absolutely take on the form and scope of the big world depression of the thirties, such as Winkler and some communist writers believe. The "recessions" in the US were genuine depressions; the last one caused 5 million unemployed; one cannot erase a social phenomenon from the face of the earth by changing the name of that phenomenon. This is Pollyanna talk.

The business cycle policy of the capitalist states is a result of the existence and strength of socialism; it is a characteristic of competition. Here we run into a contradictory effect of competition which will concern us in many fields. Competition on the one hand makes it easier for the workers to win concessions from the capitalists, because the latter fear the effect and propagation of socialism; competition increases the chances of the workers in the capitalist countries to extend the scope of many of their gains. But on the other hand this fact also

makes for illusions about capitalism and for attempts of the bourgeoisie "to maintain their influence over the masses and perpetuate their rule through new reformist demagogery" (Theses of the Italian Communist Party at Its Ninth Party Congress). The task of the revolutionary worker movement in peaceful competition is therefore twofold. It must exploit every chance to obtain as much for the working people as possible, it must, e.g., demand and promote business cycle policy measures; it must work out and push through anti-depression measures; but it must also indicate the limits of these measures which are rooted in the nature of capitalism and it must demonstrate the need for and superiority of socialism.

#### The Example of Automation

These limits of capitalism become particularly clear in automation; the latter considerably contributes to the fact that in the US, despite the recent boom, a residue of several million unemployed was inherited from the "recession." Under capitalist ownership conditions, automation is bound to remain a nightmare of the workers; none less than Norbert Wiener, with whose name automation is linked inseparably, fears mass unemployment as a result of extensive automation, "compared to which ...even the depression of the thirties will look like a harmless joke... if we stick to our freedom of exploitation" (Norbert Wiener, Mensch und Menschmaschine [Man and Human Machine], Alfred Metzner Publishers, page 172). Though he by no means likes communism, Wiener derives from this fear the need for planned production in which there is no more exploitation, in which there is no more danger of unemployment, and in which labor has been freed due to the tremendous productivity that can now be diverted to things other than immediate daily necessities. Not even we communists could have anything better to say about the future.

In fact, extensive automatization of production is hardly conceivable under capitalism; it presupposes not only a planned socialist economy but also a level of education which is tied in with the progressive elimination of physical and mental work and which cannot be realized so long as the pocketbook rules education. The example of automation makes many technologists and scientists aware of the superiority of socialism and the inferiority of capitalism. Once upon a time, Marx graphically illustrated the law of motion of history and the necessary coordination of ownership conditions with the development of the production forces: One hand mill gives us a society of feudal lords; a steam mill give us a society of industrial capitalists (Elend der Philosophie [Misery of Philosophy]). Today we can add this: automation calls for socialism. Peaceful competition will make it easier for us to prove

"that, in order to bear fruit, the means of work need not be monopolized as means of rule over and exploitation of the worker himself and that, like slave labor and serfdom, wage labor is only a temporary and subordinate social form, destined to disappear in the face of associated labor which does its work with a willing hand, an agile mind, and a happy heart" (Inaugural Address of the First International, 1864).

It is no accident that Norbert Wiener has come closer to this conclusion. Automation accentuates the main contradiction in capitalism between private ownership of the means of production and the social character of work. It emphasizes the senselessness of an outdated order of ownership. At the same time, the advance of the sciences in the Soviet Union, which has been liberated from the profit economy, causes many an intellectual in capitalist countries to become pensive; the superiority of socialism will therefore become increasingly clear to these strata and create new opportunities for that alliance of which young Marx already spoke -- namely, the alliance between the sufferers who think and the thinkers who suffer.

#### Need for Change

In the peaceful competition of the two systems, the system that has become superfluous, intolerable, and dangerous to life will lose. Superfluous and intolerable because it inhibits progress and human talents; this is demonstrated by the example of automation and the forms of privilege in education. Intolerable and dangerous to life, because the use of peak performances of the human mind is decided on by the profiteers of the profit economy who make money out of war and war industries and who are interested in the exploitation of their own and other peoples. We can often hear and read the statement that we are at the threshold of a period of the three A's -- astronautics, atomic energy, and automation -- which are all interconnected; but we must add that these three A's are joined by a fourth A, namely the power of labor [German: Arbeitermacht]. Man's penetration into the atomic nucleus and into the universe, into the infinitely small and infinitely large, calls for an advance to socialism, to the social order which is infinitely superior to capitalism.

The practical demonstration of the superiority of socialism will considerably facilitate the fight of the socialist forces in the capitalist countries. In 1956, people were trying to make us believe that our fight for socialism would be easier if we clearly kept our distance from socialism. What a puny viewpoint that was! But socialism will not fall into the laps of the nations automatically as the fruit of the superiority of socialism in the competition of the two systems. The progressive forces cannot content themselves with being interested spectators in this great dispute between the two systems and occasionally shouting a well-meaning "Come on, socialism!" They must arrive at the decisive conclusions for the outlook of their battle; in the discussion of these conclusions, we are just in the beginning stage. They must above all do everything possible to help preserve the peaceful character of this competition and to assure it through progressive disarmament.

## B. RELAXATION AND CLASS STRUGGLE

Weg und Ziel

Franz Marek

Vol. 18, No. 5, May 1960, Vienna

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On the eve of the summit conference -- from which we expect a further contribution to the relaxation of tension in world politics -- we would like to return to two ideas which characterized this lecture series. 1. Our conviction that the superiority of socialism will prevail with increasing clarity in peaceful competition. Like Bert Brecht's Galileo, we believe in "enticement through proof." 2. Our concept that peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism will produce a series of conclusions about the class struggle; we have discussed these conclusions in the various lectures, fully aware of the fact that this discussion was only a modest beginning.

It is our impression that the inferiority of capitalism is beginning to dawn on many a writer and politician in the West. We can find more and more despondent statements, such as the one in Vance Packard's concluding passage in his book Die unsichtbaren Schranken [The Invisible Barriers].

"We shall survive and prevail only if the majority of the people believe in this system. The majority must be deeply convinced that our system offers fairer compensation and better opportunities for the fulfillment of human longings and hopes than the other system" (page 363).

But this does not sound too confident if we consider the telltale complaints that two-thirds of the talented young people in the US cannot get further education and that the social position of the worker is getting worse, though the number of big cars and mink coats is increasing.

The report of the Joint Committee on Economics of the US Congress is even more characteristic. This report was published in the fall of last year under the title Comparative Analysis of the US and the Soviet Union. The title itself speaks volumes. Would an American Congressman have felt any need at all several years ago for a comparison of the US and the Soviet Union? Here is a pertinent quote from this report.

"Two generations ago, the point of discussion was whether a socialist society could function at all. History has crossed this question off the agenda. The current generation replaced it with the question as to whether socialist society could really accomplish something. This question has likewise been answered; otherwise, we would not have this debate."

And there was a certain measure of concern in Pittermann's report in Bremen as to whether the West could prevail against "regenerated communism" -- obviously because the West reveals degeneration phenomena in many fields. The various speeches and articles are laced with concessions and admissions about the great achievements of socialism in the

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field of economics, the standard of living, and education; these statements are often mitigated by the consolation that the West still retains its superiority in the matter of freedom.

Freedom and Peace

We have often pointed out that the problem of freedom will represent the last line of defense in the ideological retreat of the capitalist world and that it will be one of the most difficult discussion subjects in the peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism. The West of course is not stingy with its many contributions to this discussion. On the occasion of the elections in South Korea, the London Times wrote that it chokes on the word freedom when it speaks of it in connection with South Korea. And in connection with the events in "free" South Africa, it simply could not manage to utter this word. Since the establishment of US military bases in Spain, since the visit of the freedom fighter Kamitz to Franco, since the lectures of Spanish Foreign Minister Castiella (who was an officer in Hitler's army during World War II) at American universities about the threat to the "free" world, etc., one may well say: in the past, the word "franco" meant "free" in the business world, especially in connection with customs duty; now the word "free" means "Franco" in the "free" world.

These discussion contributions of the "free" world of course do not suffice to prove the superiority of socialism also in this field. We will have to make a greater effort in the realistic demonstration of facts as they exist in the socialist countries in order to counteract the false sense of freedom of the masses which see the touchstone of freedom in a certain individual freedom to move about -- and not in the real right of the people to speak up and participate in the making of decisions; these same masses are not aware of the deception of a system that betrays the use (or misuse) of democratic freedoms to the opinion-factories of big capital; a typical representative of these thought-factories was Mr. Truman's Kingmaker, Pendergast, who at one time said that he could at any time get any cur elected over the Apostle Paul.

In recent times, there have been more and more declarations admitting -- often quite involuntarily -- socialism's superiority in its efforts for peace. The constant initiatives of the Soviet Union toward a relaxation of the tension in international relations has led to many discussions in an effort to find out why it is that these initiatives always issue from the Soviet Union. Some journalists feel that this is due to the vitality of the Soviet premier. But Adenauer does not lack vitality. Other journalists blame the Western statesmen, as though it were the tragedy of the West that it is not headed by personalities of the stature of Austrian journalists. In reality we are dealing here with the superiority of a system in which no class is interested in war and in which no class can make money out of war -- a system which by nature constitutes a peaceful power and therefore can employ its greater power

to an increasing degree for peace. During the negotiations on the discontinuation of atomic tests, the Soviet Union made a constructive proposal and thus robbed the Americans of a chance to insist on underground atomic tests. At that time, the Daily Herald, the organ of the Labour Party, wrote the following.

"For six springs, the shadow of the hydrogen bomb has darkened our fortunes and our land; during the seventh spring, there came a warm ray of light to drive the shadow away. This ray of light, this glimmer of hope, came from Russia" (21 March 1960).

The awareness of the superiority of socialism in general and its superiority in the battle for peace in particular are sources of strength in our endeavors for peace and peaceful competition.

### Conclusions

In recent times, the communist press has carried many useful articles which make it clear that coexistence between socialism and capitalism does not mean the renunciation of the dispute between socialist and capitalist ideology. The peaceful coexistence of the two different social orders does not result in a harmonious coexistence of the opposing classes. But it is similarly undeniable that the outlook for peaceful competition has consequences and conclusions affecting the outlook of the class struggle in every country. It is one of the basic ideas of Leninism that, in judging the situation and outlook of a country, one cannot proceed solely from the preconditions in that country, but that these perspectives must be seen and understood in the framework of the general development throughout the world. Lenin said at one time -- immediately after the October Revolution -- that one could no longer engage in politics without taking into consideration the fact that a proletarian state is already in existence. In our days, one cannot make politics without keeping in mind the fact that the power of this socialist state and of the socialist camp has grown in such a manner that we can speak of the probability of peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism. Bert Brecht said: "Only if we know reality can we change reality." This statement is true here too.

As for the rest, capital is drawing its conclusions: in the field of business cycle policy; in the attempts to counteract the strong proof of the superiority of socialism during capitalist world depressions; in the field of education, where -- frightened by sputniks and luniks -- it is taking or has announced certain modernization measures; in aid for underdeveloped countries -- the World Bank barely a few days ago announced that it will reduce the interest rate on loans from 6% to 2-1/2% (which is the interest rate on Soviet loans), etc. In Lampedusa's well-known novel The Leopard, a scion of Sicilian nobility declares after Garibaldi's landing on Sicily: If everything is to remain, then everything will have to change. This dialectical dictum is intended to proclaim the concept of a threatened class of exploiters to the effect that one would have to

adjust oneself to the new times if one wanted to salvage the essence of exploitation. We experience similar things in the competition between capitalism and socialism. Capital will not spare maneuvers and concessions in an effort to save the essential things -- and this will mean new problems, new opportunities, as well as new difficulties for the labor movement.

Of course, we will not run into these problems in all fields. As for the scope of democracy, for instance, we should expect the opposite trend, i.e., resistance to any concession, increased efforts toward the elimination of the popular masses from real participation in decisions, using even more refined methods toward the rigidification and slackening of democratic life. We will find all the more significance in those concepts here through which the communist parties propose measures for the renewal of democracy, for increased participation of the people in the making of decisions, and for the attainment of reforms which today strengthen the class positions of the workers and which tomorrow can make the transition to socialism easier.

The outlook for peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism is connected with the outlook for peaceful development toward socialism. For this reason, the relationship between reforms and revolution is changing. This is not a new edition of reformism. Reformism is an ideology of conciliation between the workers and capitalism, an ideology of the renunciation of socialism; in the concepts of the communist parties for the renewal of democracy (we published the document of our party on the problems of nationalization in our June issue), we are dealing with reforms which are to be attained in the fight against big capital, which are intended to restrict the power of big capital, and which can ease the transition to socialism -- because the general change in world politics has created new opportunities for the class struggle in the various countries.

Are these by any chance illusions? Do we really believe in the spiritual purification of the imperialists and monopolists? By no means. It is the basic change in the balance of power in world politics which has created new opportunities on a global scale and for individual countries. The relaxation of tension, after all, is not something automatic; it is the result of a bitter struggle and repeated reverses. Peaceful does not mean "without a fight"; it does not even mean "gradual." Peaceful, in the competition between the two systems, means a development which will lead to the victory of socialism in all countries, without a military clash between the two systems. Peaceful development toward socialism means a development toward the victory of the working class, without civil war.

The peaceful character of this road does not depend on us alone, be it on a world scale in the individual countries. Our orientation toward the possibility of peaceful competition between capitalism and socialism has made peaceful competition likely. If we start from the probability of peaceful competition today, we are contributing to the development of this probability into a reality. And if we must orient ourselves

toward this world political development, we must also orient ourselves toward the conclusions in every country. Is it difficult to imagine for such a colossal shift in the balance of power in international relations to leave the opportunities and needs in the individual countries unaffected?

Since bourgeois democracies have several parties, the orientation toward a peaceful development toward socialism also means orientation toward the multiparty system in the transition to socialism; here it must of course be assumed that the existing parties will change in step with the development of the situation. This makes it necessary for us today to differentiate between the parties and within the parties; Marx criticized Lassalle's formula of the "single reactionary mass"; never before has this formula been as wrong as in our days; this requires us to shed any remnants of a declarative propaganda and to increase our ability to take other political groups and parties at their word and to make our policy in line with their declarations; as far as discussion is concerned, this means that we must seriously dispute the arguments of the opponent and that we must again and again convince the working people that we are not trying to be right, but that we really have their interests at heart. We must again and again seek discussion with other groups and parties; in the words of a comrade at the party congress of the Italian communists, we must not give the impression of being an army which, fully armed, has withdrawn into a fortress and is waiting for the enemy to surrender.

#### The Decisive Task

Let us not deny that the new situation and the outlook for peaceful competition are connected with problems and often also difficulties. New situations and new perspectives are unavoidably connected with new problems and new difficulties. The important thing, obviously, is to understand the new situation; once we have done that, we can also overcome the difficulties. The decisive thing above all is that we are dealing with difficulties arising out of a mighty turnabout in world politics and that, because of this, precisely our worst enemies speak of the danger of "softness" in their camp. Austrian newspapers recently in all seriousness reported that a group of Western politicians demanded as proof of the Soviet Union's desire for coexistence that Khrushchev make no speeches during his trips. In this connection, we would like to use two quotations in order to show how basically things have changed and in whose favor they have changed. In 1951, a well-known Western politician stated the following.

"We must rearm. Only then will we be able to dictate peace to the Soviet Union and to force the Soviet Union to renounce its aims or even to disappear."

Who spoke these words? Dulles, Adenauer, Churchill? They might have been spoken by these men, but this time, for reasons of current interest, we chose a quote from -- General De Gaulle.

And now an excerpt from Ya, the organ of the Spanish fascists, which said the following on 25 March.

"The praise that greeted the Soviet premier in Washington yesterday and in Paris today, in our opinion is a sin and a public scandal which fill all clean and honest men with astonishment and shame. Each one of these days is a day of grief, not joy."

Undoubtedly, for these clean fascists.

The communist parties and the worker movement in the capitalist countries face the task of using the obvious failure of the discrimination of communism [sic] in world politics to advantage in their own countries; to strike with all means of indignation and wit at anticomunism -- that dangerous and at the same time ridiculous enemy of the working class and of peace. In Austria that may not be so easy; here anticomunism is proclaimed almost as a civic duty and is the source of that provincialism which degrades the intellectual life of Austria through an odd mixture of pettiness and overbearing, of narrowmindedness, and mission-minded arrogance. The "overbearing of the government agencies," about which even Shakespear complained, is here melded with the timidity of the little office empires, which excuses every step forward in actual development with the assurance that it can take two steps backward again, if necessary. Let us just think of the undignified attitude of the Vienna land government in connection with Ehrenburg's invitation to the Vienna Festival; a brown mud stain, a warmed-over Goebbels lie sufficed. Even Die Furche [The Furrow] agreed this time. It is certainly not easy, but it has become easier and it will become increasingly easy to combat this provincial anticomunism. At any rate, it is necessary to draw the decisive conclusions from the relaxation of tension as far as the class struggle is concerned, and from the superiority of socialism as far as the fight for socialism is concerned. As Togliatti said at the party congress of the Italian communists, anticomunism must be unmasked as an unpleasant and petty disgrace, as a dirty rag, which belongs in the garbage can.

3. LECTURE BY SECRETARY-GENERAL OF CUBAN  
COMMUNIST PARTY ON DRAFT PARTY PROGRAM  
(The Party Program and the Cuban Revo-  
lution)

Hoy

Blas Roca

13 March 1960, Havana

Page 1, Spanish (Cuban) daily np (Communist)

The party program -- technically still a draft to be submitted for definitive consideration by the National Assembly of our party next June -- should not merely be read and formally accepted; it is a document to be studied and assimilated in its deepest meaning.

Our program is in no way similar to the trashy political and demagogical platforms of the old parties of Cuban political life which are anxious to obtain new members easily by making attractive, superficial promises; it is rather, above all, an analysis of Cuban society and the problems affecting it, a serious study of the semi-colonial domination exercised by imperialism in our country, of the economic-social structure resulting from that domination, of the social classes and their role, of the political institutions and struggles, of the causes of stagnation and crises in our economy, of the historic necessities impelling national development, and of the way these necessities must be met to guarantee the progress that is so necessary.

In thus stating the problems of our country, we have not aimed at finding new members for petty schemes but rather have prepared to study the necessary solutions, however difficult and costly they may appear to be, and to instill, by their pronouncement, an awareness of their necessity and a massive determination to achieve them with all the sacrifices, struggles, heroic acts and work that may be necessary.

For that very reason, our program was not formulated at one stroke as a finished, definitive program, nor was it produced in some unlawful assembly isolated from action, practice, experience, and life, and content to adopt general formulae or set up goals that are ideal but without any real content.

Our program has been growing, becoming more precise and defined in the struggle of many years, and not in the struggle of a party or small group, but in the struggle of the masses, in the struggle of all our people, in the struggle of the entire nation against the ominous consequences of the imperialist domination and the semi-colonial system we have endured.

When our party was organized in 1925, our great programmatic goals, the fundamental points of our greatest aspirations, and the most urgent political, economic, and social objectives were all defined.

We organized ourselves as a party of the Cuban working class to fight against Yankee imperialism; for national liberation, agrarian revolution, and socialism; against the Machado government as a lackey and

instrument of imperialism, the big landowners, the huge import trade, and the sugar magnates; and to promote the demands of the workers, the peasants, and the entire people.

Then too, we had the heritage and experience of the Mambi revolution, of the whole prodigious struggle against Spanish colonialism, of the anti-imperialist thinking of our greatest patriots, of the organization and struggle of our workers, and of the propaganda and diffusion of Marxism long before the Spanish colonial regime was toppled.

With that heritage and experience and in line with the new struggles and experiences, our program kept on growing more precise and perfect. Step by step we kept on enriching our analysis of the concrete, specific forms of the imperialist domination in our country, of the precise economic, social, and political characteristics of the semi-colonial regime, discovering the real viewpoint of the social classes and of strata or special groups in those classes, examining all the aspects of the special characteristics of our country, comparing our national development with that of other countries and with the universal experience in the struggle for national liberation, agrarian revolution, industrialization, construction of socialism, and the defense of peace.

Thus, in various stages, there was a steady defining of the problems of the struggle against imperialism, the struggle against racial discrimination, the struggle against large land holdings and for agrarian reform, the struggle for trade union organization and the unity of the workers, the struggle for economic independence, and the struggle for socialism in our country.

All that, all the past experiences, all the analyses and studies of distinct epochs have been synthesized, put in order, and methodically set forth in this new text of the program which was originally formulated in 1956 and modified in its present form last October.

Our program, then, is neither the work of a day nor of any one group. It gathers, concentrates, places in order, and presents the experience of years and the struggles and consciousness of the masses, of the entire people, and of its most able representatives in the various epochs.

That is one of the reasons why we can rightfully say that this program of ours is also the program of all the workers, all the people, and the whole nation.

But it would be wrong to deduce from what has been said that our program is something of an accumulation of various opinions and proposals. No, our program is a coherent work. The various experiences it brings together have been analyzed, purified, and concentrated in accordance with a method and principles that are determined and unique, namely the method and principles of Marxism-Leninism. Only in this way is there a guarantee of its organic unity, its scientific coherence, and its practical efficacy.

Our program takes the position of the working class as its starting point and considers all problems in their relation to the supreme goal of the workers, which is to put an end to the exploitation of man by man through the establishment of socialism.

It may be asked why we adopted such a point of departure. The answer is that in the society which is divided into classes, the basic positions always correspond, consciously or subconsciously, to the interest and aspirations of each class. Different classes, and even those antagonistic to one another, can and do coincide at certain times in their pursuit or realization of specific objectives, be they economic, social, or political, but each class will have different goals for what has been attained, in accordance with its own interests.

Let us look at a very recent example. Elements of the various classes were of the same mind regarding the specific plan to overthrow the Batista tyranny. But were the goals sought by all of them the same? No. Some wanted to eliminate the tyranny to replace it with a similar pro-imperialist government which would not have the disadvantage of the Batista tyranny's unpopularity and would consolidate and maintain the reactionary work achieved by the tyranny. Others wanted to have the tyranny followed by a moderate government which would limit itself to re-establishing the pace of institutional [governmental?] development and introducing certain political changes. And finally, we others wanted that the tyranny should be replaced by a popular revolutionary government which would undertake to find the basic solutions required by the crisis in Cuba. These varied basic attitudes with regard to the ultimate goals of an immediate action in which all of these people coincided corresponded to the particular interest, ideology, and plans of different social classes and levels.

The working class, because of its economic and social conditions, because it cannot seek to exploit any other class, because it must free all the other classes from exploitation in order to free itself, because its development and future is linked to the development and progress of big industries, technology, and large-scale production, and because the social work in the factory organizes it, gives it discipline, and unites it in a natural way, is for all these reasons the most revolutionary class in society and the only one which is unhesitatingly going along the road to socialism, to the final elimination of the exploitation of man by man.

By using the positions of the working class as its starting point, our program unites the anti-imperialist spirit of the nation, the immediate interests of the peasants, intellectuals, professional people, employees, students, and the national bourgeoisie which casts its lot with national liberation, economic independence, and Cuban economic progress. That is the reason why we resolutely adopted the positions of the working class as the point of departure.

The program of the working class is also that of the peasants, the middle strata, the people as a whole, and all the constructive forces which want economic and social progress without fear of the future.

Our program is based entirely on Marxism-Leninism, which is revolutionary practical theory par excellence, is a scientific theory of development, and has been proved by the historic experience of countries with a population all told of about one billion inhabitants to whom it has served as a guide in the victorious struggle for national liberation, for the agrarian revolution, and for the construction of socialism.

In formulating our program according to the method and principles of Marxism-Leninism, we have sought to avoid dogmatism as much as any kind of revisionism. Dogmatism leads one to be ignorant of life, to fail to pay attention to specific details and to the original modes of development being produced in the country in response to given situations, and to substitute generalities for close examination and abstract formulas for real solutions. Revisionism is above all an attempt to flee from the difficulties inherent in every great struggle instead of appraising them in their true dimension and looking for revolutionary means of overcoming them; it is the prostitution of theory to make it acceptable to the Philistines. Revisionism leads to failure because in one way or another it leads one to submit to some form of imperialist ideology. Revisionism raises the accessory to the level of a fundamental, loses sight of the whole to examine a detail, gives up the trunk to fasten on to the branches, and makes a detail into a principle and generalization.

Marxism, being a revolutionary theory, enables us to regain possession of everything that was best in our past. It is not the imperialist, counter-revolutionary, or bourgeoisie theories which can properly interpret our past or regain for us the thought and action of Martí; it is rather Marxism which shows us his real magnitude and can regain for us the depth of his anti-imperialism, his flag of independence and sovereignty, his appreciation by the masses, his revolutionary concepts, and his brilliant foresight. For that reason, our program can rouse people just as it evokes Martí and that part of the Mambi program which pertains to our times and which the revolution alone is carrying out now; simultaneously, our program advances toward new goals which the revolutionaries working for independence at that time could not even dream about.

Our program does not consider the problems of our country as being isolated from the world which surrounds us, influences us, and determines the circumstances in which we develop. Cuba is a group of islands which are not only surrounded by water but also by different countries and peoples; it lives in the world of today, it is part of that world, from which it receives and to which it gives, which influences it and is influenced by it.

We are humans as well as Cubans.

No problem of the world is alien to us. All the problems of the world are part of our problems.

Thus, for example, the imperialist domination has not been exercised solely against our nation. It also is being exercised or is trying to take hold in the countries of Latin America and over many other peoples of the world.

The will for sovereignty, independence, industrialization, social development, culture, and advancement is not ours alone; many other peoples share it too.

The longing for peace and to avoid new international conflagrations is not only ours but that of all humanity.

Whether to have imperialism or socialism, backwardness or progress, oppression or freedom, exploitation or liberation, and poverty or well-being, these are dilemmas that are as much ours as the world's.

If we think of the problems of Cuba as being isolated from those of the world, we shall not progress toward their real solution, because such a viewpoint is contrary to reality.

Let us give an example of this, because examples always help to clarify and sharpen thinking. Cuba is faced today with a cruel pressure, piratical attacks, and a constant threat of economic and military aggression by the US imperialists, who are directly assuming the task of trying to crush the Cuban revolution, thus converting the Batista and Diazlanza counter-revolutionaries into mere pawns in their game, putting those guilty of the crime of high national treason in the service of a foreign power which is attacking and threatening the country.

The main, basic enemy of Cuba and its revolution is Yankee imperialism.

If we think of Cuba as being isolated from the rest of the world, its fight with imperialism has no perspective other than that of defeat or death, since we are a country that is too small, economically weak, still subordinated to import and export.

If, on the other hand, we consider ourselves as part of the actual world reality, if we realize that the imperialists can no longer do whatever they wish even in their own geographic neighborhood, that today the powerful Socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and including such inexhaustible forces as those of the People's Republic of China acts as a break and a warning to those who like to shake the big stick at us, that today the countries of Africa and Asia recently liberated from colonialism are playing an important anti-imperialist role in the world, that today the peoples of Latin America have a greater power and a greater awareness which makes their important, decisive solidarity with the Cuban revolution grow day by day, and that today proletarian internationalism and peoples' solidarity are -- in addition to being moral forces -- a material and well-armed force, then we shall understand that we can conquer in the struggle undertaken, that Cuba does not have to surrender to the attacks, threats, and aggressions of the Yankee imperialists or resign itself to dying heroically but that it has instead all the opportunities to win and that it can win and continue forward with its powerful revolution of the humble, by the humble, and for the humble -- as its sole leader Fidel Castro has defined it -- to the highest goals.

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We consider Cuba as being in the world and we support unfailingly both proletarian internationalism and the solidarity of peoples in the face of imperialism, aggression, and war.

Our program is not at all unrelated to the vigorous revolution developing in our country. It is part of that revolution. It is a program of the revolution and for the revolution. It is a program which strengthens and supports all the positive measures, laws, and actions of the revolutionary government and the orientations of its chief, Fidel Castro. It is a program which strengthens the revolutionary awareness of the working class, the peasants, and the entire people.

It is a program which raises and establishes the very bases of co-operation, coordination, and unity of all the forces, elements, and revolutionary classes and which provides a guarantee of the final victory and of the further development of the revolution. It is a program designed to awaken the workers to an awareness of their historic responsibility, of their role as an advanced force and leader of the revolution. It is a program to light the way toward the historically inevitable transition to socialism.

We believe in the historic necessity of that transition. We believe that the process of social change and progress never stops: once a goal is reached, it becomes imperative to pursue another, higher goal.

Today's advance contains the seed of tomorrow's. Today's advance is the revolution in motion, with its historical and grandiose achievements, namely the revolutionary government, the revolutionary armed forces, the national sovereignty, the new democracy that is more actual and direct, the agrarian reform, the economic independence, the industrialization, the extension and raising of culture, the betterment of the people, the elimination of racial discrimination, the independent foreign policy, the trade with all the world, and the contribution to peace.

Our program supports this advance with all its might, gives it a firm basis, and defends it against all the imperialist, counter-revolutionary, Plattist, and reactionary attacks. At the same time, we are already setting for ourselves the tasks of the new advance, of investigating its probable routes and forms, of finding those elements that facilitate and favor the transition.

In our program, we postulate socialism as the next aspiration and goal of the revolutionary forces. Socialism is the establishment of the collective social property on the basic means of production and the elimination thereby of the exploitation of man by man. Socialism is a society without exploiting classes, without exploiters or exploited. Socialism is production to satisfy the ever-increasing material and cultural needs of society and is not production for profit, gain, or personal, private enrichment. It is the functioning of the highest and truest human freedom, because no one has true freedom if he is bent over through poverty, oppressed and exploited, or lacks remunerative employment. Socialism lies at the end of the cyclic crises engendered by capitalism and is also the end of unemployment, economic stagnation, and the destruction of

[natural] wealth. Socialism is the termination of the struggle of man against man and the establishment of the solidarity and brotherhood of all men for the struggle of humanity against Nature, so as to place Nature fully at its service.

The study beginning today of our program is very important. We hope it will be fully successful and serve to clarify even more its basic viewpoints.

(These words were delivered on Friday, 11 March, at the start of the series of discussions on the draft of the program of the Popular Socialist Party, arranged by the National Committee of Education and Propaganda and the Municipal Committee of the party.)

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4. VIEWS OF BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST PARTY SECRETARY-GENERAL ON  
FORTHCOMING BRAZILIAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (For the  
Victory of the Nationalist and Democratic Cause in the  
Presidential Election)

Novos Rumos

Luiz Carlos Prestes

18-24 March 1960, Rio de Janeiro

Pages 3-4 of second section, Portuguese weekly np (Communist)

In our Resolution of last September we analyzed the national political situation, focusing primarily on the problem of the Presidential succession. In the ensuing brief period, the situation has developed essentially along the lines considered in that analysis. However, the questions examined six months ago have today become quite mature and clear, and cannot fail to reflect on the position of our Party.

Definite Prospects for an End to the "Cold War"

In order to act correctly with respect to national problems, it is essential that we understand the changes which are taking place in the international arena. The trip to the United States by Comrade Khrushchev, President of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, undoubtedly marks the beginning of a new period in the relations between the two greatest powers. An understanding between them is the basic condition for the assurance of world peace. It is certain that serious obstacles still obstruct and will continue to obstruct such an understanding. Circles interested in pursuing the "cold war" exist in the United States and in the other imperialist powers, particularly in West Germany. These circles will spare no effort to see to it that the conversations concerning disarmament and above all the coming meeting of the chiefs of state of the great powers fail to achieve practical results in the cause of peace. It is indisputable, however, that a way has been opened and is beginning to be followed that can lead to an effective relaxation of international tensions and to the establishment of lasting conditions for peaceful co-existence among countries with opposing social systems. This is due primarily to the efforts of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and to the struggle of the peace-loving forces throughout the world.

In his speech before the General Assembly of the United Nations, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev presented a concrete plan for universal disarmament in four years, including the destruction of the stocks of nuclear weapons and the disbanding of armed forces and military institutions with the sole exception of contingents necessary to maintain civil order. Comrade Khrushchev further proposed, on behalf of his government, that a substantial part of the resources saved as a result of this disarmament plan be made available by the great powers to the underdeveloped countries so that they can accelerate their struggle against economic backwardness.

In Soviet foreign policy, actions correspond exactly to words. The Soviet Union had already decided unilaterally to suspend nuclear weapons tests, which led to the "atomic truce" still in effect. Now the Government of the USSR has taken another significant step, also unilateral, in reducing its military forces, ordering the demobilization of 1,200,000 soldiers. The equivocations of the imperialist circles are of no avail in the face of such convincing arguments.

We must not lose sight of the fact that dangerous sources of friction remain in various parts of the world. Sudden aggravations of international tension continue to be possible, especially since the contradictions within the imperialist camp are becoming more acute. The very prospect of a serious relaxation in international tensions could at any moment cause certain warmongering circles to become more aggressive and commit acts such as the recent anti-Semitic and Nazi-like provocations which, after spreading from Adenauer's Germany throughout the entire capitalist West, were repudiated with the most profound indignation by world public opinion.

Despite all this, it is nevertheless becoming clearer that the tendency is decidedly toward a cessation of the "cold war." This tendency is making itself felt with a growing force, which finds a way through temporary setbacks and overcomes obstacles thrown up by the American imperialists and their Western European allies. Thus the coming conference of the chiefs of state of the Soviet Union, the United States, England, and France assumes an exceptional significance, supported as it is by the desire of all peoples that concrete measures be adopted in favor of the cause of peace.

The Brazilian people are vitally interested in the establishment of a climate of peaceful coexistence and lasting understanding among the great powers. We know that the devastating effects of another war can directly involve our country. But aside from this, the Soviet proposals have made it obvious that the ending of the "cold war" and the armament race will create more favorable conditions internationally for the underdeveloped countries in their struggle for economic progress. It is understandable, therefore, that the proposals of Comrade Khrushchev have been favorably received by wide sectors of national public opinion. Indeed, the conditions are highly propitious for the Brazilian people to make a more active contribution to the cause of world peace, principally by pressing for a fundamental change in the foreign policy of our Government, which continues to support in international assemblies the bellicose and colonialist actions of the western powers.

In view of the changes that are taking place in the international situation, we can affirm that our fight for national liberation, for democracy, for peace, and for socialism is being carried on under exceptionally favorable conditions. This should infuse in all who follow the banner of Marxism-Leninism a greater enthusiasm and a heightened combative spirit.

## II

### The Political Scene and the Presidential Election

As we had foreseen, the campaign for the Presidential succession, which is at the moment the main political interest of the nation, is centering around the candidacies of Marshal Teixeira Lott and Sr. Janio Quadros.

In the brief time since our Resolution of September 1959, the candidacy of Sr. Janio Quadros has encountered serious trouble, whereas Marshal Teixeira Lott has been making progress in consolidating his candidacy. In the present circumstances, Lott's candidacy is without a doubt a major factor in exacerbating the differences among the political groups within the Government and in the Opposition. This is a fact of primary importance, whose deeper reasons we can discover by considering the process by which the candidacies of Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek in 1955 and of Marshal Lott last year originated and developed.

Between the two candidacies there is certainly no qualitative difference. Basically the social and political forces which rallied to the former also constitute the support of the latter. Moreover, as in the case of Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek, the coalition grouped around Marshal Lott includes extremely heterogeneous forces in which figure the most radical sectors of the nationalist movement as well as conservative sectors of the PSD and of other parties.

Still, we would commit a grave error if we did not point out the features which distinguish the candidacy of Lott and which in themselves express the changes that have taken place on the national scene and within the political parties, i.e., the noticeable progress of the nationalist and democratic forces.

Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek began as a typical PSD candidate, supported from the outset by the most retrograde sectors of the PSD leadership, including elements linked to the interests of the American imperialists. Despite this, in the situation existing in 1955, Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek also received the support of the more important popular and nationalist forces, among them the communists, who saw in his candidacy the best possibility for uniting the patriotic elements, preventing a coup d'etat, and blocking the antinational sectors, which were then supporting Sr. Juarez Tavora.

The origin of Lott's candidacy, however, had a different character. His name was initially put forward for the Presidential succession outside of the orbit of the major parties and was supported by the most active sectors of the nationalist movement. With this base he still had to overcome great difficulties in winning over the leadership of the parties. Obstacles were placed in his path by the most reactionary and antinational elements of the PSD and certain rightist sectors of the other parties comprising the government coalition. Thus, from the beginning the candidacy of Marshal Teixeira Lott possessed a decidedly

nationalistic tendency which has not weakened, but rather, to the extent that the well-known conservative inclinations of the candidate himself permit, has been strengthened.

The nomination of Marshal Teixeira Lott as a candidate in the Presidential elections constitutes, within the Federal Government, a very significant victory for its nationalist faction, which is supported by the nationalist movement in general. It is precisely this circumstance which has contributed to a sharpening of the differences within the Government itself, given its heterogeneous composition. The removal of Lucas Lopes, Roberto Campos, and Garrido Torres from their key positions reflected, following the breaking off of official negotiations with the International Monetary Fund, the strength of public opinion, which politically isolated these antinational persons. The reorganization of the Cabinet, however, was not carried out by Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek to change government policy or even to strengthen his own candidate. On the contrary, the President of the Republic gave posts of the greatest influence to such antinational and reactionary figures as Armando Falcao, Amaral Peixoto, and Sebastiao Pais de Almeida. The new cabinet thus followed essentially the orientation of its predecessor, although in circumstances of greater popular discontent and political instability. We must analyze this situation.

The year 1959 was characterized by an inflation which was exceptional even for our country, which for the past twenty years has suffered chronically from one of the worst inflations in the world. The indexes appearing in the official publication Conjuntura Economica, based on monthly averages, show that the cost of living in the Federal District rose by 46.3% in 1959 as compared with a rise of 20% in 1958. In Sao Paulo, according to the indexes of Inter-Union Department of Statistics and Socio-Economic Studies, the cost of living of the workers rose 44.7% in 1959. The measures taken by Sr. Lucas Lopes, who as Minister of Finance followed to some extent the policies laid down by the International Monetary Fund, contributed decisively to this acceleration of the inflationary spiral. The same financial orientation, despite efforts to disguise it, is being applied by Sr. Sebastiao Pais de Almeida. One of his first acts was to raise the foreign exchange rate for coffee exports from 60 cruzeiros to 76 cruzeiros per US dollar. The effect was to bring about a forced devaluation of our currency and in addition to transfer an enormous amount of income to the coffee farmers and exporters. To fully appreciate the inflationary impact which coffee represents, one must also take into consideration that by June of this year, according to a forecast of the magazine Desenvolvimento e Conjuntura, stocks held by the IBC will reach about 32 million bags, representing a cost to the Government of over 60 billion cruzeiros. Last year Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek issued 35 billion cruzeiros, which gives an idea of the violent inflationary pressure that stems from the financial policy of the Government and is causing so rapid a decline in the level of living of the masses.

Recently, by Instruction No. 192 of SUMOC, a new series of export products amounting to no less than 200 million dollars were made subject to the free rate of exchange. Thus was taken one more step, and a very long one, toward the complete reform of the exchange system so desired by the International Monetary Fund.

During the past year, in a legitimate reaction against inflation and in defense of their drastically reduced level of living, the workers presented a great number of claims, many of which culminated in strikes. As a rule, it has not been difficult for the employers to grant wage increases, because they are making enormous profits from the inflation and because the Brazilian economy is continuing to expand. Usually, however, the increases granted have ranged from 25% to 35%, which has not compensated entirely for the loss of purchasing power of wages.

In the face of strikes and various protests against the high cost of living the Government of Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek, instead of protecting the interests of the masses of the people against the beneficiaries of the inflation, was inclined to resort to violent repression in order to put down the struggles of the populace. Sr. Kubitschek's Government yielded to the intervention of American authorities, among them Ambassador Moors Cabot, and allowed the meat packers to increase the price of meat by almost 100%. It interfered in the affairs of the Union of Maritime Officers, and it ordered the beating of students protesting against price increases at the Calacouco restaurant. The increase in streetcar fares in Rio de Janeiro -- another concession to the electric utility company -- is being enforced by the police operating under the direct orders of Sr. Armando Falcao. It is he who was mainly responsible for the invasion of the National Student Union and for the brutal assault on the National Law School, incidents which aroused the country and caused wide sectors of public opinion to demand the immediate resignation of the Minister of Justice. In truth, Sr. Falcao did no more than follow out the line laid down in the President's New Year's speech which, in addition to demagogic promises, was full of threats against the workers and the trade union movement.

However, the working masses and broad sections of the public have not passively accepted these violations of their democratic liberties. On several occasions they have forced the reactionary authorities to back down. Outstanding examples were the cessation of Government intervention in the Union of Maritime Officers and the holding of the Conference for Amnesty of Prisoners and Political Exiles of Spain and Portugal. The Conference represented a resounding defeat for Sr. Armando Falcao, one of the most active representatives of the reactionary and antinational wing of the Cabinet.

Both the Government and the Opposition have shown a tendency, at certain times quite pronounced, to seek solutions outside of the normal constitutional procedures. This tendency was particularly evident in the late months of last year with the terrorist bombings and the unsuccessful Aragarcas rebellion. In both cases it was apparent that elements

of the Government were maneuvering to establish exceptional procedures which would first eliminate the candidacy of Marshal Teixeira Lott, and would then permit Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek to succeed himself. The ridiculous revolt of a group of officers also demonstrated the despair felt by certain supporters of Sr. Janio Quadros following his withdrawal from the race and in the light of the prospective victory of the nationalist candidate.

But both within the Government and outside it, constitutional legality was victoriously defended against the plots for a coup d'etat. The anticommunist provocations with which the conspirators tried to cover themselves also failed. This does not yet mean that these tendencies to resort to antidemocratic solutions have been eliminated. They are present in those reactionary and antinational groups which fear the masses struggle for their rights and wish to avoid at all costs the assumption of the Presidency by Marshal Lott. As a consequence, the defense of democratic liberties becomes a task of highest importance for all the nationalist and popular factions.

In the area of foreign policy, the Government of Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek was impelled by necessity to take a step long desired by almost all the people when he sent a commercial mission to the Soviet Union and signed the first trade agreement with that country. The Government would receive the same support from broad political and social sectors if it would go on to reestablish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and normalize relations with all the other socialist countries, including the recognition of Communist China.

However, in refusing the invitation of the Government of Fidel Castro to take part in the Conference of Underdeveloped Countries at Havana the Brazilian Government shamefully betrayed the dominant sentiment of our people and made clear the inherent conciliatory and capitulating character of the so-called Operation Panamerican. Our people can never permit Brazil to become an accomplice in the maneuvers of the Yankee monopolies to isolate the Cuban revolution and subsequently crush it by economic pressure, sabotage, or open military intervention. Public opinion must be alerted against these maneuvers and mobilized in a most decided solidarity with the heroic people represented by Fidel Castro -- American imperialism.

President Eisenhower's trip to Brazil and to other Latin American countries had as one of its precise objectives the formulation of measures to be taken against the present government of Cuba. This trip made it clear that the ruling circles in the United States are making an effort to revitalize their tottering dominion over Latin America through the OAS system and various treaties as well as through promises of financial "aid". Nevertheless, in his direct contact with Latin America President Eisenhower had an opportunity to sense the solidarity of its peoples with the Cuban revolution and their resolution to fight for their own emancipation.

It is against this background, which we have presented only in bare outline, that the Presidential electoral campaign of October 1960 will take place.

### III

#### Increasing Difficulties in the Camp of Quadros and the Strengthening of the Lott Candidacy

It is an evident and incontestable fact that the candidacy of Sr. Janio Quadros is revealing itself to be much less solid than it had appeared. The great organs of the press, generously financed by the American trusts, tried to build up the ex-governor of Sao Paulo as "invincible," as a "triumphal march," as exercising "an irresistible fascination over the masses," etc. But this same dominant press now finds it difficult to repeat such nonsense and lets us glimpse the deception in accounts of the failures of the UDN-Lacerda candidate.

The struggles of the masses are demonstrating what a distance there is between their specific aims and Sr. Janio Quadros, whose oppositionist demagoguery is subtracting from his effectiveness. Furthermore, the campaign which we communists and other sectors of the nationalist movement are waging to show the Brazilian people the real significance of the Quadros candidacy is having a greater effect each day. The accumulating facts that permit us to denounce the antinational and profoundly reactionary character of this candidacy must be disseminated widely and insistently through all layers of society. An admitted friend of Rockefeller, an also admitted enemy of Petrobras, protector of the Light and Power Company and other imperialist companies, apologize for the exchange reform advocated by the International Monetary Fund and of economic "liberalism," one who condemns State action favoring industrialization and emancipation of the country, advocate for the Sao Paulo oligarchy of land owners, exporters, and bankers connected with the coffee trade -- here we have in its main aspects the political content of the candidacy of Sr. Janio Quadros, who has become the standard-bearer of antinationalism and of the most reactionary groups in the country.

To this let us add his corrupt practicises in the Government of Sao Paulo. It is now becoming known how in his supposed clean-up of the administration he used public funds on an unprecedented scale to buy supporters and consummate corrupt deals. It is thus becoming clearer that his fight against corruption was no more than a farce to deceive the electorate.

In addition to the exposure to which it is being submitted and which needs to be intensified, the campaign of Sr. Janio Quadros is suffering the effects of the contradictions within the coalition formed to support him. Some idea of the seriousness of these differences can be gained from the fact that Quadros thought he could overcome them by going through the motions of withdrawing, hoping that in this way he could

gain uncontested control over the UDN, the PDC, and the other forces that support him. Without achieving its objective, for friction within the coalition continues, the gesture of withdrawal shook the ranks of the ex-governor of Sao Paulo, associated as it was with the mean little rebellion of the Quadros heroes at Aragarcas and the subsequent comedy of withdrawing the previously announced "irrevocable" withdrawal. On his recent trip to the North Sr. Janio Quadros and his running mate Sr. Leandro Maciel were able to sense not only the indifference of the great masses but also the active repudiation of the patriots.

Because of all this, there is mounting uneasiness in the ranks of the Quadros coalition. Some of its nationalistic elements are trying to change its orientation so as to bring it closer, at least in words, to the nationalist movement. The UDN-Lacerda candidate himself, in view of the weakening of his position, has already found it necessary to combine his oppositionist demagoguery with a program incorporating some of the patriotic aspirations of the majority of the people. To the extent that this tactic fails, the nationalist elements which still support Sr. Quadros or which hesitate to oppose him because of party discipline, can be neutralized or even in part won over to Lott.

The wavering of diverse and important sectors of the Quadros coalition are well known. The coalition may encounter still further difficulties as its internal contradictions and its weakened position with the electorate cause certain political factions to abandon it either formally or to all practical purposes. The defenders of the Lott candidacy are obviously interested in accelerating this process of deterioration of the political base of Sao Paulo's ex-governor.

In spite of the great obstacles with which it has been confronted and will still have to overcome, there is no question that the candidacy of Marshal Teixeira Lott is being strengthened. The reactionary leadership of the PSD, headed by Sr. Amaral Peixoto, has done everything to isolate Marshal Lott and get rid of him as a candidate. To accomplish this they tried various schemes such as the "national union," "mandate extension" and others, all of which failed. One of the PSD lines of action of a reactionary nature is to make it as difficult as possible to reach an agreement with the PTB and to bring about a break in the present alliance with that party. This would weaken considerably the coalition supporting the former Minister of War. For their part, some of the elements of the PTB, prior to the national convention of that party which ratified the Teixeira Lott-Joao Goulart ticket, had been doing nothing to strengthen the nationalist candidacy.

During the most difficult period, Lott was sustained almost solely by the most combative elements of the nationalist movement, among which the communists made every effort to fulfill their patriotic duty. The pressure of the masses on the positions of the parties and on the candidate himself influenced the course of events. This pressure reduced the reactionary influence on the Marshal's campaign and accentuated the opposing nationalist influence.

Having demonstrated that it possessed solid bases and could even count on the support of considerable sectors of the PSD itself, the candidacy of Lott won out at the national convention of the majority party, whose ratification made it an accomplished fact. With the ratification by the national convention of PTB another great step was taken. There is growing pressure on the PR and the PSP to follow the same path without delay. In the PSP, pro-Lott tendencies are being evidenced, making it very difficult for Sr. Ademar de Barros to maintain his divisionist position and to insist to the very end on promoting his own candidacy.

The antinational and antipopular aspects of Government and majority party policy are still having a negative effect on the campaign of Marshal Lott. Even after the acceptance of the Lott candidacy by the PSD, antinational elements in the Government, especially Armando Falcao, Amaral Peixoto, and Sebastiao Pais de Almeida, with the approval of Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek, insisted on carrying out a plan deliberately designed to weaken the Lott candidacy, even abandon it, or at least so obscure its nationalist and democratic character as to make victory difficult.

Within the PSD, those who wish to give Marshal Lott's campaign a nationalist character are meeting with resistance from the party leadership, which is doing everything it can to alienate the candidacy from the masses and give it a conservative cast. The PSD leadership is using its Congressional strength, with the solicitous assistance of the UDN opposition, to block bills of popular and anti-imperialist interest such as the regulation of the right to strike, the organic law of social welfare, the civil service classification plan, a bill limiting remittances of foreign capital, and others. But, at the same time, the House of Deputies approved an Education Law with provisions which evoked the justified protest of students and professors throughout the country. This is accompanied by anti-communist provocations, especially stimulated by Armando Falcao and Amaral Peixoto, and by intrigues against the PTB, the purpose being to split the Lott coalition. The conciliators and anti-national persons around the President cannot acquiesce in the prospect of Lott's assuming the Presidency and are encouraging Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek's intentions to succeed himself. This is what is behind the current maneuvers.

As a consequence, it is indispensable that we put more intense heat on the antinational group of the Government, exposing their antinational and antipopular policy and struggling to dislodge them from the key posts that they occupy. The masses should press the President of the Republic to form immediately a cabinet that will truly support the campaign of Marshal Lott.

Through his contact with sectors of the masses, the former Minister of War has come to realize how much harm the negative aspects of the policy of the present government are doing, and he has begun to take a firmer stand in favor of a new policy with a more effectively nationalist and democratic character. Noteworthy in this respect have been his repeated

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statements in favor of limiting remittances of foreign capital, of agrarian reform, of nationalizing bank deposits, his statements with respect to the right to strike, the clean-up of social welfare institutions, the economic rehabilitation of the Northeast, and his defense of the public schools. There is no doubt that these statements reflect the growing influence of the nationalist sectors on the orientation of his campaign, and they make it possible for the candidate to strengthen his ties with the masses of the people.

As we have seen, the coalition supporting Marshal Teixeira Lott is not immune from contradictions. We must know how to deal with them so as to affirm the nationalist and democratic content of the candidacy, maintain the unity of the broad political and party factions that comprise it, and reinforce its electoral base. We believe that these criteria should be applied in finally resolving the question of the vice-presidency on the Lott ticket. In rejecting Sr. Fernando Ferrari and proposing the name of Sr. Joao Goulart, the National Convention of the PTB placed the solution of this problem on the right track and strengthened the candidacy of Marshal Teixeira Lott by adding labor support. The candidacy of Sr. Joao Goulart for the vice-presidency is without a doubt in the interests of the nationalist and popular forces.

In our Resolution of September 1959 we took a position with respect to the principles which bear on the Presidential succession. In contrast to what has occurred in the past, we took this position at an opportune time, subject to our general tactic in favor of a united front and the struggle for a nationalist and democratic government. At that time we proclaimed our absolute opposition to the Quadros candidacy and our interest as patriots in the success of the candidacy of the former Minister of War. The position we must adopt now is one of decided and open support for this candidacy. We see in it, in view of the present political condition of the country, the most effective and real possibility for advancing the nation toward economic emancipation and improvement of the situation of the masses, while keeping open the opportunity for the triumph of a nationalist and democratic government. We are not motivated, therefore, by exclusively partisan considerations. In supporting Marshal Teixeira Lott, we consider as basic the social forces behind the candidate, his own concrete actions, and the promises which he has given publicly to the nationalist and popular forces. We understand that between us communists and the candidate and the powerful forces supporting him there exist essential ideological differences. We shall maintain our ideological independence, and in our political activity we will continue to fight in the vanguard of the working class for those solutions which we consider essential for the independent and progressive development of our country. But, precisely because we place the national interest first, we believe that it is of fundamental importance at this time to contribute to the unity of all those forces capable of insuring the victory of the nationalist and democratic cause in October.

#### IV

##### Concentrating Political Activity in the Electoral Struggle

Our Resolution of September 1959 had the merit of alerting and orienting the Party concerning the question of the Presidential succession and gave clear and precise indications with respect to it. Important organizations and a great many comrades undertook to carry out those instructions. The unselfish efforts of many comrades and sympathizers were effectively joined with the action of patriots of other factions supporting the Lott candidacy in a united front of a highly serious nature. Deserving of special mention in this respect are the organizations and the comrades of the Federal District and of the maritime sector who have generally been demonstrating a correct understanding of the electoral problem and who have already been carrying on appreciable activity in organizing electoral committees, distributing propaganda, and carrying out other tasks of the campaign.

It must be emphasized, however, that the forces of the Party are still a long way from having been satisfactorily mobilized for electoral campaign. We have taken little directive action to overcome spontaneous attitudes and to organize the struggle for a proper application of the September Resolution. The control that we are exercising was late in being applied and is scarcely being felt in the principal States. In such important regions as Sao Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, the State of Rio, and Minas Gerais, the most responsible leaders are showing considerable delay and vacillation in bringing the Party into the electoral campaign. At the root of this attitude are political and ideological misunderstandings which must be dealt with quickly and firmly. Not a few comrades, including some in highly responsible positions, still hold deprecatory opinions concerning the electoral struggle. They do not perceive its significance in relation to the political conditions of the country, a significance that is exceptional in that we are concerned with a replacement for the President of the Republic. Added to this incomprehension is the myopic and sectarian attitude of certain comrades with regard to the task of building a united nationalistic and democratic front. There are comrades who remain indifferent to the possibilities that the electoral campaign offers for joint action with the forces interested in achieving a course of independent and progressive development for our country.

It is obvious that leaders who are prisoners of such misconceptions cannot stimulate enthusiasm in the Party for the electoral struggle.

The situation in the State of Sao Paulo deserves special attention. There is found the strongest political base of Sr. Janio Quadros, a fact which in combination with the pressures of the major organs of the press has influenced our Party and caused it to have doubts about the justice of the position we have assumed. Also playing a role in this matter are certain illusions held in respect of the Government of Sr. Carvalho Pinto, who is exploiting Sao Paulo's regionalism and is not duly recognized as

one of the key elements in the Quadros coalition and one of the main supports of the candidate of antinationalism. In yielding to the pressure of Quadros, the communist leaders of Sao Paulo have shown themselves to be prisoners still of a profound sectarianism, which separates them from the great working and popular masses and explains the negative or unrepresentative results of the elections of aldermen held in many of the towns of Sao Paulo. Particularly in the capital of the State, the conduct of the communist leaders, generally acting independently, contributed to our failure to achieve results in the elections commensurate with the influence which we actually enjoy among the people of Sao Paulo. Sectarianism was also plainly evident in the recent attempt at a general strike. On that occasion some sectors of the working class were mobilized against the high cost of living and other just complaints, and they demonstrated their combative spirit in the face of arbitrary police action ordered by Sr. Juscelino Kubitschek and Sr. Carvalho Pinto. But the strike was conducted without a sense of political timing, and it was not coordinated with broad sectors of the working masses, the trade union movement, and the nationalist movement. We must recognize that we made a mistake in not having warned in time that a general strike would have negative results, that it had no chance of success at that time, that it therefore would not contribute toward deepening the workers' confidence in their own organizations, that it would make it more difficult to broaden and consolidate the unity of the trade union movement and of the nationalist movement. It is up to the communist leaders in the State of Sao Paulo, and especially those in the city of Sao Paulo, to learn a lesson from this experience, to overcome political and ideological confusion and help the Party to play its true role in the forefront of the electoral campaign in this, the most important region of the country.

In Rio Grande do Sul and in other parts of the country the delay in applying the September Resolution can be explained by a number of circumstances, including the fact that the positions of the PTB and the PSD have not yet been defined, or simply by the difficulties encountered in getting the party militants to follow the line laid down. These reasons cannot be justified. The mission of our Party, by its very nature, is to be in the vanguard, and we will not be carrying out this mission if we lag behind the other forces. Once having adopted a united front line, our decided and effective action can be influential -- and there is a rich experience attesting to this -- in overcoming the vacillation of other groups. With respect to the difficulties in winning over the party militants, we recognize that these difficulties exist, since we cannot ignore the sectarianism which has dominated their thinking for such a long time. But it is the duty of any leadership to fight, politically and ideologically, against these difficulties and not conform and yield to them. We must keep in mind, moreover, that the faithful observance of democratic centralism, the guiding principle of our Party, requires of the militants, and over all, of the leaders the maximum diligence in carrying out instructions.

Comrades:

In connection with the campaign for the Presidential succession, the central political event of the current year, we must rally our forces with determination. All of our activity should take account of the need to strengthen the united democratic and nationalist front and make its cause victorious in the Presidential election. Thus the way will be kept open for the formation of a nationalist and democratic government. We must not spare our energies in increasing voters registration, in multiplying pro-Lott election committees, and in working with them so that their influence will be brought to bear on all classes of the population. We should demonstrate all the dedication, enthusiasm, and capacity for struggle of which our Party is capable in uniting the anti-imperialist and democratic forces to win a victory at the polls for the candidacy of Marshal Teixeira Lott.

We must reinforce our links with the masses and always serve as the best interpreters of their aspirations. The electoral campaign itself offers the most favorable prospects for carrying on the struggle for these aspirations, inasmuch as it attracts the most backward classes of society to political activity. Within the companies, within the trade union movement, the student movement, the popular organizations, and among the farmers we must be tireless fighters for the rights and interests of the masses. It is particularly necessary that we mobilize the masses to pressure the National Congress into approving those laws that will assure new victories to the workers or are essential in the struggle for the economic emancipation of the country.

In close unity with the masses, we communists and democrats in general will be able to answer with effective protests any violations of constitutional legality or attempts at a coup d'etat which may be perpetrated by Government or Opposition groups. Very broad are the sectors that can be united for the defense of democratic liberty, the indispensable condition for the development of the movement of the masses.

The workers, especially, know from their own experience that the suppression of democratic liberties affects them directly. The trade union movement, which has strengthened notably in recent years, is a source of serious concern to the reactionary groups. They will continue to try to dominate it and prevent it from developing a revolutionary spirit of class independence. To this end they have resorted to repression of strikes, arbitrary interventions of the Ministry of Labor, bribery, and anticomunist provocations, all for the purpose of dividing the workers and isolating their aggressive vanguard. Therefore, the defense of the trade union movement, of its independence, and of its unity is directly associated with the vigilant and energetic preservation of democratic liberties.

We have already referred in previous documents to the need to fight for the legalization of our Party. In this respect our action has been deficient. This matter is more urgent than ever in the politics of the country. The situation in which our Party finds itself is an anomaly in

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the political life of Brazil that can and must be set right in the general interest of all democrats. We are unquestionably one of the major currents among the workers and we represent an important force on the political scene. To deny this force the right of legal existence is to mutilate gravely the democratic regime.

The cancellation of our Party registration was one of the results of the reactionary offensive of 1947 and reflected the beginning on the international scene of the "cold war." As we have just seen, the situation nationally and internationally is today very different. The most favorable conditions exist for putting an end to antidemocratic measures. The reaction is growing weaker, and the "cold war" is giving way to the need for peaceful coexistence. The communist parties have already gained legal status in the great majority of the Latin American countries. We are certain that Brazil will not delay in joining these countries. This would be to the interest, not only of us communists, but of all true democrats. Backed by the increasing struggles of the masses, whose interests we tirelessly defend, we must undertake to win for our Party the full legal status required by the vital interests of the working class.

It is necessary that the organizations and the party militants constantly apply the political Party line explained in the Declaration of March 1958 and subsequent documents. Our efforts in studying and assimilating the political line are still insufficient. We must intensify these efforts, applying the line at all times in our daily political activity and combatting tendencies of the right and of the left that interfere with the correct orientation of the struggle for national emancipation and democracy. Given the favorable conditions in which we are operating, the correct application of the political line set forth in the Declaration will bring us new victories and an increase in the membership of the Party.

Rio de Janeiro, March 1960.

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5. INTERVIEW WITH EVREMONT GENE, SECRETARY  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GUADELOUPE  
(The Communists in Favor of Internal  
Autonomy)

France Nouvelle

27 April 1960, Paris

Page 20, French weekly np (Communist)

Evremond Gene, secretary of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, took part in Paris in the talks which the French Communist Party just held with the representatives of the Communists of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Reunion. He was quite willing to talk with us about the situation in his country and answer our questions.

Question: Guadeloupe is demanding a new statute so that it can manage its own affairs. What are the bases on which it is making this demand?

Answer: Guadeloupe has been living under the so-called "law of assimilation" for 14 years. This law has unquestionably brought improvements, including social legislation, housing, school and road construction. But experience proves that assimilation has not been able to give our people the means of affirming or developing its original nature, by virtue of which it has its own personality 7,000 kilometers away from France.

The basic reason is that despite the new juridical statute for departmentalization as contained in the Law of 19 March 1946, Guadeloupe has remained a colony.

Therefore the question of relations between Guadeloupe and France is that of relations between a colony and an imperialist country. That is, Guadeloupe exports everything it produces. Moreover, it is only free to produce bananas, sugar, and rum, and is compelled to import all the products it consumes.

At the same time, there is an unprecedented amount of establishment of metropolitan enterprises going on in our country. The direction of the administrative services is being entrusted from now on to the allogeneous persons. The racism of the colonialist elements is increasing. The brutality of the forces of repression is worsening.

Average Age: 25 Years

Question: What are the main characteristics of the economic and political situation at the present time?

Answer: Four-fifths of the cultivable lands are in the hands of a few non-native capitalists. They leave some 30,000 hectares of those lands uncultivated, whereas we import annually about 3 billion francs' worth of food products.

Customs barriers, monopoly in shipping, and traffic in currency all build the fortunes of the big partisans of colonialism.

There are no new industries or prospecting. The natural resources (forests, rivers, seas, mineral waters) are unexploited and the cultivation of many types of crops is prohibited.

In less than 10 years, two metropolitan sugar refineries realized 2,160,000,000 francs profit, but Guadeloupe remains one of those countries in which the average annual per capita income is the lowest, 50,000 francs, and in which men die the youngest. According to the official statistics of the National Institute of Statistics, the average lifespan, calculated approximately, is not even as high as 25 years (a little over 24 for men and 26 for women).

From the cultural standpoint, the same colonial repression keeps down any tendency toward the development and affirmation of the Guadeloupe personality.

In the political field, with its three badly elected deputies and its two senators, the interests of Guadeloupe are lost through dilution in the mass of metropolitan interests, which is represented by over 700 French parliamentarians, and this is even more the case now that personal power has been established and parliamentary democracy is destroyed.

As for the Council General, being practically without political powers, it is merely a docile instrument to express wishes.

The Prefect represents simultaneously the tyranny of French imperialism, of his State, and of his government. He permanently hinders the exercise of democratic rights.

#### Self-Administration

Question: How did the idea of a new statute mature in Guadeloupe?

Answer: Taking into account the specific nature of our country, we already launched in 1955 the slogan for "widening of the power of the Council General." In 1956, having analyzed the situation anew, we were in a position to pose the problem of a more extensive participation of the people of Guadeloupe in the administration of Guadeloupe. The 1958 Congress of the Communist Party of Guadeloupe, making a deeper examination of this question and of the new alignment of forces in which the people of France, like the people of Guadeloupe, are the gainers because of their own struggle, felt that a mere change in quantity was not enough; that a change in quality was necessary. It therefore decided to put forth this concrete demand: "Democratic administration of the affairs of Guadeloupe by the people of Guadeloupe themselves, within the framework of a union with France."

We hasten to add that the conquest of this demand could in no case be considered as an end in itself, but only as a means of rallying the greatest masses of the people of Guadeloupe against imperialism and colonialism and for the development of the country's economy and the well-being of the working masses.

Question: How do you envisage the internal autonomy of Guadeloupe?

Answer: The people of Guadeloupe are not demanding independence.

What they want, in the present circumstances, is to be able to decide on the internal economic, social, and political organization of their country, and nothing more. They know that the French legislative power cannot resolve their fundamental and urgent problems. They are asking for a legislative power applying only to the country and providing authority in budgetary and commercial matters, as well as in others to be defined. This legislative power must be exercised democratically by an Assembly elected by direct universal suffrage. In addition, they are asking for a local executive responsible to this Assembly.

They intend to maintain ties with France, which will retain its jurisdiction in external matters (foreign relations, defense) and in other fields to be defined.

Moreover, strong in its internal sovereignty, Guadeloupe could promote a democratic financial system, compel the French capitalists now enjoying reduced taxes to pay their proper share of taxes, and discuss and develop relations with France and also with the neighboring countries in the Caribbean Basin and with the peoples of Africa.

In short, that which is demanded is self-administration, that is, the country's own power of administration entrusted to local authorities who are democratically elected by the people.

#### A Two-fold Solidarity

Question: How does your evolution differ from that of the African countries which are getting their independence?

Answer: The historic formation of the people of Guadeloupe gives it its own personality, different from that of the African peoples.

Whereas the histories of Guadeloupe and France are not a fraction of one another, there has been inter-dependence, a meeting of the ways, and interpenetration between them for over 300 years. These 300 years of historic relations and colonialist domination -- during which time each victory of the French people was a success for the people of Guadeloupe and each setback to democracy had ill-omened consequences for Guadeloupe -- have created between the Guadeloupe people and the French proletariat a great spirit of solidarity. That is why the people of Guadeloupe link its struggles closely with those of the French people against the common enemy, namely imperialism and French colonialism.

The people of Guadeloupe are therefore motivated by a two-fold solidarity, on the one hand with the other colonial peoples and on the other, to an even greater extent, with the French proletariat.

In the application of a just Leninist policy with regard to the right of peoples to self-determination, the essential, determining factors are not the small size of Guadeloupe, its small population, or the fact that its national conscience has not yet been sufficiently formed. What does matter in the present period is the opportunities offered by social and political progress through the maintenance of the union with France and in view of the dangers that lie in separation.

That is why the Communists of Guadeloupe are limiting themselves, in the present period, to a demand for new relations with France on the internal level.

### Three Countries with the Same Aspirations

Question: What do Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Reunion have in common?

Answer: They have the same backward economic structure that is tied to colonialism and characterized by a seasonal, single industry, that of sugar. They have the same social problems related to colonialism and the economic structure, namely low wages, permanent underemployment, undernutrition, malnutrition, poverty, high birth rate. They also have the same political and administrative status as an overseas department.

Therefore, the same economic, social, and political problems require, in present circumstances, a single solution embodied in a single demand: internal autonomy. It is being demanded simultaneously by the people of Guadeloupe, Martinique, and Reunion. It is the key to all political, economic, and social progress for these three old colonies.

Question: Would you describe the struggle of the masses (economic and political demands) in your country?

Answer: The masses are struggling against the colonialist type of oppression of the government, which is following a policy of austerity and of limitation of democratic freedoms.

Their immediate demands are social in nature: unfreezing of wages, reduction of unemployment, development of new crops, equitable payment for sugar canes and bananas, establishment of new industries, in short, putting the riches of Guadeloupe at the disposal of the immense majority of the population.

Thus they believe -- and we believe that they are fully right -- that only a change in the political and juridical status will be able to solve all these urgent problems.

That is why the essential political demand is for the acquisition of internal autonomy for Guadeloupe.

6. KURDISH COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES AS REFLECTED IN  
ORGAN OF DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI KURDISTAN (DPIK)

A. THE BARZANIS EXPRESS THEIR GRATITUDE TO THE  
SOVIET UNION AND RENEW THEIR PLEDGE TO THE  
LEADER OF THE REPUBLIC

Khehbat

24 April, 1960, Baghdad

Arabic daily np

Now that one year has passed since we have returned to the mother-land and since the Army, supported by the people, destroyed on July 14 the biggest stronghold of imperialism in the Middle East, overthrew the corrupt monarchy, and opened the way for exiles to return to their country with honor and dignity. On this happy occasion we tender our appreciation and gratitude to the stronghold of peace and democracy, the Great Soviet Union, friend of struggling nations which are seeking national independence, democracy and peace, for the welcome and generous hospitality extended to us during 13 years of exile. While we shall never forget this welcome, we at the same time feel proud of the people of Iraq, both Arabs and Kurds, as well as the various minorities from Basra to the mountains of Kurdistan, who came to meet us and show us their brotherly feelings. We also renew our pledge to the leader, the beloved savior, Abdul Karim Kassem. We assure the Iraqi people and the leader that, as one of our leaders the great Mustapha Barzani has said, we are all soldiers for the preservation of the great Iraqi Republic. We are prepared to turn Kurdistan, with its mountains, valleys and plains into graveyards for the imperialists and their allies among the enemies of our Republic and its democratic program.

Long live the great Iraqi Republic under the leadership of General Abdul Karim Kassem. Long live Iraqi-Soviet friendship. Long live Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and the brotherhood among all nationalities in Iraq. Death and shame to the imperialists and the traitors.

The Barzanis signing this open letter:

Kassem Saadi, Siamend Aziz, Mohammed Issa, Mohammed Taj Eddine, Hussein Faqi Ahmed, Wisi Ali, Sa'id Omar, Ibrahim Sheikhi.

B. CZECHOSLOVAK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES DELEGATION  
WELCOMED IN DARBANDI KHAN

Khebat

25 April, 1960, Baghdad

Arabic daily np

As soon as we were informed that the Czechoslovak delegation has arrived in Darbandi Khan on April 14, we formed a committee of 15 members to receive them and welcome them in the Democratic Party of Kurdistan. We met the delegation who were accompanied by some Party members from Sulaimaniyya, at about 30 kilometers from Darbandi Khan, and we extended to them a warm and cordial welcome. We then resumed the trip to Darbandi Khan where we visited the site of the Darbandi Khan dam. After explaining to the delegation the benefits to be derived from the dam, they expressed their admiration of the work and of the Kurdistan region in general. They were particularly impressed with the high mountains and beautiful scenery of the country. We then visited the Party headquarters in Darbandi Khan, where the delegation were met by a large number of Party members. Speaking for the Party, Mr. Jamal Khaffaf welcomed the delegation and said, "I welcome you in the name of the Party and the people who have struggled incessantly against the imperialists and their agents until their struggle was crowned with success when the Great Iraqi Revolution took place under the great leader Abdul Karim Kassem. Thanks to this Revolution, we are now able to exchange views with our friends and work with them towards the common goal. And just as the October Revolution has liberated many people from oppression, the July 14 Revolution has liberated the Iraqi people from imperialism, feudalism and serfdom." He concluded by extending a national welcome of all the Kurdish people to the friendly people of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Perhe Nzelfa replied for the delegation in the following words: "Dear friends, our most sacred endeavor is to seek friendship. We were charged by the peace committee with the task of making friends and consolidating the friendship among nations. This we can achieve only by hard work and persistent efforts. Our visit here expresses the wish of the Czechoslovak people to know you better, and we are certain that the warm reception that you extended towards us will strengthen the ties of friendship between the Kurdish and Czechoslovak people. It is a welcome that we shall cherish. We wish you success and a happy and free life."

It should be noted that the Party headquarters were decorated with the following three mottos. Preservation of the Republic is an Objective of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, Long Live the Leader of the Arabs and Kurds Abdul Karim Kassem, Work Unity Democracy and the Preservation of the Republic.

The delegation were presented with some antique Kurdish handicrafts after which they bid their hosts goodbye and departed.

Khebat Correspondent in Darbandi Khan

### C. THE KURDS' NEED TO PARTICIPATE IN AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES CONGRESSES

Khehbat

26 April 1960, Baghdad

Arabic daily, np

From time to time the countries of the Afro-Asian bloc assemble in congresses attended by the representatives of the free nations among them as well as by the nations seeking independence from imperialism and bondage. The purpose of these meetings is to exchange ideas and views, share in their common experience and unite the ranks in the struggle against imperialism so that the maximum gains can be achieved with the minimum sacrifice.

These meetings have had a great impact in enhancing the importance of the role of the Afro-Asian countries in preserving world peace. Moreover, each country in its struggle against imperialism and domination can count on the support of the other countries to attain independence. It has also become less possible for the imperialist countries to interfere in the domestic affairs of the independent nations, a fact which has rendered such independence stronger and more meaningful. These nations have also increased trade between them and all peace-loving nations and have taken giant steps to rid themselves of the domination of foreign capital and to develop their economies.

The strength of these congresses derives from the fact that a large number of the independent countries have joined them, and no doubt this strength would increase as the number of member countries increases.

It is however unfortunate that our Kurdish people have ignored the importance of these congresses to the struggle against feudalism and imperialism. We have struggled continuously rather than surrender to the imperialists and the reactionaries. Kurdistan has witnessed many revolutions and produced innumerable heroes and martyrs throughout history in the cause of freedom and liberty. Many of our sons sacrificed their lives rather than lose faith in the justice of their cause or the future of Kurdistan. The struggle of our people has in fact been an important part in the struggle of the people of the Middle and Near East in general against imperialism. Our struggle is therefore a part of the human struggle against imperialism, war and for peace and a better future.

To support the Kurdish national movement is an important factor in the establishment of peace in the world, because Kurdistan lies in a strategic area of the world and has often been used by the imperialists as a bridgehead in their aggression against the progressive peace-loving nations.

The Kurdish people, it is fair to conclude must be allowed to participate in the congresses of the Afro-Asian nations for the following considerations: Kurdistan is one of the Afro-Asian nations which is struggling for independence and democracy which it has not achieved so

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far except within the immortal Republic of Iraq, the Republic of Arabs and Kurds. Such independence would not threaten the legitimate rights of other nations, but it would help remove the dangers of imperialist aggression in an area of such strategic importance to the Near and Middle East. This would naturally strengthen the liberation movements in the area and create conditions favorable to peace. The Kurdish people have participated in the liberation struggle, sharing with the neighboring nations their suffering and hardships to attain their high objectives. We hope that the other member nations of the Afro-Asian group of nations will in the future invite us to participate in their congresses. We also urge the Republic of Iraq, which is the Republic of Arabs and Kurds to ensure that its delegations to these and other conferences will have adequate Kurdish elements in them, a matter which would greatly enhance Arab-Kurdish brotherhood.

#### D. NAWRUZ HOLIDAY CELEBRATIONS IN SULAIMANIYYAH

Khehbati

20 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

The second occasion of the Nawruz holiday under the Republic was celebrated by the people of Sulaimaniyyah. Nawruz, the national holiday of the Kurdish people, commemorates freedom, the victory of good over evil and of light over darkness. The enthusiasm and unity demonstrated by the people on this occasion and their active participation in the celebrations were a clear indication of the sacred nature of this national holiday among the people of Kurdistan and the great unique importance they attach to it. It also demonstrated the support of the people for the Democratic Party of Kurdistan and their love and appreciation of the Democratic Republic and its leader Abdul Karim Kassem.

On March 20, Sulaimaniyyah, the city of the heroes and glory, was decorated with flags and signs and pictures of the leader. Some of these signs underlined the Arab-Kurdish brotherhood and the unity among the various national groups. Others emphasized the importance of preserving the democratic gains of our Republic and defending both our Republic and world peace. Still others denounced the barbaric and fascist methods of the rulers of Turkey, Iran and Syria against the peace-loving, democratic and freedom-loving Kurdish people.

During the night of March 20, the great and immortal fire celebrating Nawruz was lighted on the highest mountain tops which surround the heroic city and national anthems were chanted. It was a great and beautiful day, a day for freedom, victory and peace. Following this, the night program started, and the people met at the headquarters of the Party where they continued the celebrations until a late hour.

On the following morning, the headquarters of the Party were crowded with people from the different social classes, and the procession started. It was led by the 12 horsemen of Mariwan, followed by Kurdish refugees from Iran. The procession ended at the fountainhead called after Shaykh Mahmoud. At 1:00 P.M., the official celebrations began with the national anthem which was followed by a song dedicated to the leader Abdul Karim Kassem: "Abdul Karim, My Hero." At the end the Nawruz fires were lighted again by various organizations, and all participated in a song to Nawruz led by the Mawlawi orchestra.

The emcee of the meeting then introduced the program of speakers and recalled in a short speech the names of the great Kurds -- Salahuddin, Doctor Fuad, Shaykh Said, Isma'il Khan, Samko, Kadi Mohammed, Shaykh Mahmoud, and the two heroines Qadam Khair and Naghda. He then introduced the speaker for the Democratic Party of Kurdistan, Mr. Isma'il Aref, whose speech was well received. The Mawlawi orchestra then played a musical composition which was followed by several sketches performed by children, including dances and short plays. The poet Kameh Ran then

recited an excellent poem, and this was followed by a dance performed by the women of Kurdistan. Miss Anjam Zahdi then delivered a speech in the name of Kurdistan women in which she recalled with admiration the role of women in the history of Kurdistan and praised their present role in the national struggle. This was followed by several speeches, one for the Peasant Associations delivered by Mulla Rasoul, another by the Democratic Party of Kurdistan Iran, and another by Mulla Najm el Din.

In conclusion, the text of the cable which the Party branch in Sulaimaniyyah proposed to dispatch to the loyal leader Abdul Karim Kassem was read. The Leader was praised for restoring freedom and security to the people. At 5:00 P.M. the party broke up amidst gay dancing and the beautiful music of the Mawlawi orchestra.

E. DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF IRAQI KURDISTAN  
CELEBRATES NAWRUZ IN MAWIT

Khebat

20 April 1960, Baghdad

Arabic daily, np

Shortly after sunrise on March 21, the people of the villages in the Mawit district assembled in the center of the district in preparation for the Nawruz celebrations, the immortal holiday of the Kurdish people. The place was fully decorated with flags, signs, and portraits of the loyal leader.

The celebrations were inaugurated by Mr. Aziz Hohyeddine, the commissioner of the district, who delivered an excellent speech calling on the people to guard against imperialist plots. He then congratulated them on the occasion of their national holiday. He was followed by the commissioner of police who, speaking for the Arab community of Mawit, reminded them of the necessity to support the government of the Revolution and of the need to assist the government in pursuing and expanding its democratic program. The Imam of the mosque, Shaykh Abdul Razzak al Hajj Hussein then delivered a speech in which he gave his audience some guidance. Then Mr. Abdul Karim Azar delivered a speech in the name of the Party in which he expounded the views of the Party of Iraqi Kurdistan towards the people and the Republic. The Nawruz speech was delivered by Party member Abdul Azim al Mawti in which he compared the present celebration with previous celebrations. A representative of the Peasant Associations also delivered an appropriate speech. These speeches were followed by popular dances and songs and then by some more speeches and a poem recited by the poet Faqi Mohammed Hajrani. The meeting finally ended, it having lasted over five hours.

F. SONS OF KURDISTAN AND THEIR DEMOCRATIC VANGUARD  
IN EXISANJAK CELEBRATE NAWRUZ HOLIDAY

Khebat

24 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

It is traditional for the Kurdish people and for the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan to celebrate Nawruz holiday, the national holiday of the Kurdish people, by holding rallies and public festivals throughout Kurdistan. This year, for the first time in the history of the Kurdish people, this holiday is celebrated officially and openly, thanks to the great July 14 Revolution led by Abdul Karim Kassem.

In preparation for the holiday on March 21, the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan in Exisanjak, decorated the town with banners and signs congratulating the people on the occasion of this great holiday, urging them to greater effort to better their condition, and expressing their gratitude for the Revolution. A sample of these banners had written on them: Long Live Nawruz, Long Live the Hero, and others urged the peasants and workers to increase their production and start the year with renewed determination.

The Party has decided that on the day of March 21, it will hold a great rally. The necessary work in preparation for such a meeting was allocated among the Party members and supporters, and the Haji Kader Peasant Association undertook the task of inviting all Peasant Associations in the Exisanjak area to the meeting. A large number of the Peasant Associations responded to the invitation by sending their delegations to attend the festivities in the city. The Associations of Khebat, Kurdistan, Smakoli, Darband, Razkari, Darkay, Khoshnaw, Awkard, Shirwan, etc., were all represented.

The rally was held on the grounds of the Zanst Elementary School under a sign which said: We Struggle for the Preservation of the Republic and its Democratic Program under the Leadership of Abdul Karim Kassem.

At sunrise of March 21, the people of Exisanjak flocked to the school, and the place was filled with photographs of the sole leader Abdul Karim Kassem and with banners written in Arabic and Kurdish. The school yard was overcrowded with people wearing colorful national dress. The program of the meeting consisted first of a recital from the Qur'an by Mulla Fattah al-Mulla Izzat and this was followed by the Nawruz song. The speaker for the Party was then introduced, Mr. Sadik Sadek who delivered a speech in Kurdish in which he congratulated the Kurdish people for this happy occasion. He continued that Nawruz is the holiday of struggle and that this has yielded victory over the oppressors. The Nawruz holiday, which is the holiday for spring, Mr. Sadek reminded his audience, dictated upon the Kurdish people new national responsibilities. Foremost among these responsibilities is the struggle to preserve the Republic and consolidate its democratic program under the leadership of the

leader of the Revolution, Abdul Karim Kassem. It was also imperative to strengthen the unity between the various national groups in Iraq and to continue the struggle along with the other Afro-Asian nations until the colonial system is eliminated from these two continents and world peace is restored. Complete disarmament must be insisted upon, and the nations which have not gained their independence yet must be helped to do so. On the domestic front, Mr. Sadek said that the Government must be assisted in its agrarian reform and in its attempt to help the peasants and workers and establish a democratic order on sound foundations. Motherhood should be honored and helped, and illiteracy and ignorance eradicated. He continued that the memory of Nawruz is pregnant with great historical and revolutionary events and that this tradition is a rich source for the revolutionary spirit and ideas of the Kurdish people and for their love of country and world peace.

For this reason, Mr. Sadek continued, the Party celebrates Nawruz under the new Revolutionary rule while keenly aware of its responsibilities to the other people of Kurdistan who are at present living under the oppressive regimes of Cairo, Ankara, and Tehran. The Party was likewise conscious of its responsibilities to the other oppressed nations of the Arab people and to the cause of world peace and democracy. Mr. Sadek assured his audience, however, that the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan will remain loyal to its people, that it will pursue its objectives to the end.

After Mr. Sadek, the students of the Amina Girls' School performed a beautiful Kurdish dance and were accompanied by a beautiful song. Then, the Bawaji musical group, who were led by Mr. Bakouri, presented a song written by Mr. Majid Omar, and the music by Mr. Bakouri himself. This was followed by Mr. Jobar, who recited a poem of his, followed by the performance of another dance by the girl students, and by the young poet Mr. Habib Sakar, who recited a poem called "Abdul Karim our Leader" in which he expressed well the support of the Kurdish people for their leader and their faith that the Iraqi people will emerge victorious as long as they are led by a democratic leader like Kassem. This was followed by a folk dance presented by the boy students of the Exisanjak high school, a song written by the poet Khaled Dleir, a poem recited by the lawyer Kaka Soor, and another poem recited by the poet Kak Rustom in which he exposed the internal and external enemies of the Kurdish people and showed that the Kurdish people are fighting for the preservation of the Republic, a true national union, and Arab-Kurdish brotherhood in spite of the enemies and the traitors.

A play was then presented by an amateur group from Khebat. The play was called Prince Shahzad and was directed by Mr. Omar Khanji. It consisted of six scenes. The plot of the play told the story of a cruel prince who oppressed his people until finally a revolutionary movement began to spread among the peasants, workers and educated classes. Secret revolutionary parties were organized which finally rose against the prince and overthrew his oppressive regime. In its place they established a

democratic republic. To a large extent, the play told the story of the struggle of the Kurdish people under Kawa and of the whole people of Iraq under Abdul Karim Kassem. The acting was excellent, especially the parts played by Mr. Omar Khanji and by the students Jamal Hussein and Sabah Seddik.

The girl students then presented a Kurdish song and a Kurdish dance. The team of Rustum and Husam el-Din Tayyeb then presented a comic sketch in which they ridiculed those who pretend that they are courageous and nationalistic in times of peace and then run away in times of danger. The meeting came to an end at 4:00 P.M. It was indeed a festival for spring and freedom, in which the Democratic Party revealed its great revolutionary spirit and demonstrated its adherence to true democracy, freedom and world peace.

G. QAL'AH DAZZAH WOMEN EXPRESS THANKS  
FOR LICENSING PARTY

Khehbat

20 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily np

We the women and daughters of Kurdistan, members and supporters of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in Qal'ah Dazzah offer to your Excellency our sincerest appreciation and gratitude for licensing our democratic Party, the Party which has struggled openly along with our Arab brethren for freedom and democracy. We are proud of the fact that we are finally able to work openly and to participate with men in the various fields of endeavor. We dedicate our lives, our valuables and our children to the defense of the Iraqi Republic -- the Republic of the Arabs and the Kurds. Long live our democratic Republic under the leadership of its faithful leader, Karim.

78 signatures including Nasrin Haji  
Mameh, Ye Seti Sleiman, and Naheda  
Majid.

H. DEMOCRATIC IRAQI PARTY OF KURDISTAN - AFFAIRS  
AND ACTIVITIES IN BAGHDAD

Khebat

25, 29 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

Offices of the Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan in Baghdad

In view of the lapse of the legal period since we have submitted our request for opening Party offices in Baghdad, and since the authorities have not informed us of any objections to such a measure, the Baghdad Office is considered as having been officially established.

We are grateful to the national authorities for their confidence in our progressive Party and in its members who have struggled for the preservation of the Republic and its democratic institutions. It is a matter of great pride that those members enjoy the high esteem of private and official circles.

The Constituent Committee for the  
Office of the Democratic Party of  
Iraqi Kurdistan in Baghdad

Members of the Party in the Baghdad Liwa are Called to Meeting

All members of the Party in the Baghdad Liwa are invited to a general meeting to be held at the headquarters on April 25, 1960 at 3:00 P.M. for the discussion of important Party matters. All are urged to attend the meeting irrespective of reasons to the contrary.

The Constituent Committee for Baghdad

Call to Meeting

All Party officers are invited to attend a meeting of the Party to be held at the headquarters on Monday May 2, 1960 at 6:00 P.M. to discuss Party matters.

Regional Committee for Baghdad

Invitation to a Lecture

Party members and candidates among university students are invited to attend a meeting to be held at the Party headquarters on Friday April 29, 1960 at 9:30 A.M. to listen to a lecture.

Student Committee

I. PEASANT ASSOCIATIONS IN THE DISTRICT OF HALBAJA  
PROTEST THE ASSASSINATION OF ANWAR ASH-SHAYKH MUSTAFA,  
THE DEMOCRATIC LEADER

Khehbati

20 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

The peasant associations in the District of Halbaja have submitted the following protest to his Excellency the leader Abdul Karim Kassem and to the authorities:

In the name of the peasant associations in the District of Halbaja, we protest strongly the criminal act committed by the mobs in the assassination of the Democratic leader Anwar ash-Shaykh Mustafa al Kassab in the Darbandi Khan area and we request that the traitors and their agents be punished speedily for this act.

We finally renew our pledge of support to the leader Abdul Karim Kassem.

Signed for the peasant association in Halbaja Rasti, Gharib Abdul Kader

" "	"	"	" Anab, Nawrouz Saleh Miran
" "	"	"	" Bris El Ulia, Kha Yat Ahmed Hummah Amin
" "	"	"	" Abi Ubeidah Shanrwa, Shaykh Mohammed Amin Mustafa
" "	"	"	" Hane Sura, Beriati Abdul Kader Hassan
" "	"	"	" Crustana, Peshkewanian Mulla Mahmoud
" "	"	"	" Biara Biara, Humma Saleh Salman
" "	"	"	" Tabi Safa, Shu'la ben Razzan and Humma i'Uthman
" "	"	"	" Se Rajaouk, Salahuddin and Kweikha Karim Mohammed
" "	"	"	" Bsharet Huwa, Jali Khale Mohammed
" "	"	"	" Sraw, Mawlawi Humma i'Abdul Rahman
" "	"	"	" Balkha, Tawni Kak Ali Mustafa
" "	"	"	" Sharifa, Balanbo Ahmad Fattah
" "	"	"	" Qalajan Samko, Mamosta Mulla Said
" "	"	"	" Tawira, Shaykh Mohammed Amin Shaykh Mustafa
" "	"	"	" Tawila Tawila, Humma Saleh Haj Faraj
" "	"	"	" Awai Haj Orhaman, U'Kader Humma i'Sayyed Ahmed.

J. KURDIAN WOMEN IN SULAYMANIYAH PROTEST  
ASSASSINATION OF ANWAR ASH-SHAYKH MUSTAFA

Khebat

20 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

We the Democratic women of Sulaimaniyah protest the vicious attempt which ended in the assassination of our compatriot Anwar ash-Shaykh Mustafa in Darbandi Khan. The barbarism resorted to by his assassins who tortured him and slew him in a manner which was designed to spread terror among the supporters of the Republic and its leader, is revolting and calls for the severest punishment. We therefore petition that the investigation be conducted vigorously so that the criminals are quickly exposed and punished.

Long live our Republic, the symbol of Arab-Kurdish brotherhood under the leadership of Abdul Karim Kassem.

For the women of Sulaymaniyya, signed  
Bahiyya Ma'rouf, Louisa Kake Hammeh,  
Anji Zahdi, Najiyya Faraj, Shafiqah  
Hikmat

## K. PATRIOTS' DEMANDS

Khehbati

20, 21 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

Villages of the Subdistrict Siwayil in Shahrbaazar Submit Petitions to the Authorities.

In view of the needs of the patriots in Siwayil in the Bazar district of the Sulaimaniyya Liwa for the facilities of a modern society in the social, educational, health and economic fields, they have petitioned the authorities for the following in the hope that the authorities will meet their requests favorably.

- 1) Opening an asphalt road connecting the capital of the district with the center of the Liwa so as to facilitate the movement of goods and people.
- 2) Opening an elementary school in the capital of the district at Siwayil as well as in several of the larger villages of the district which are also in a central location such as the villages of Shana Khasa, Babouri, Kourankah, Nork, Sirine, Mosak, Timar, Deiri, Kirkashah, Kweirli, Rashkani, Siwank, Senki, Nourbab, Kani-Shwan, BariKoura, etc.
- 3) Opening a first class clinic in the capital of the district and smaller clinics in the villages of Kirkashah and Warraz which are distant from the center.
- 4) Opening a flour and bread supply center in the capital of the district because of the great difficulties met by the people in obtaining their supplies of bread at the present time.
- 5) Setting up a factory in the district to employ labor.
- 6) To review the pricing of tobacco since the livelihood of the people depends to a large extent on this commodity.

7) Allocate funds for the maintenance of mosques and the building of new mosques since in most of the villages the mosques are in a very bad shape. These are the main demands of the people of Siwayil. The petition was signed by the village councils of the following 26 villages: Basni (the capital city of Siwayil), Siri, Soura Wazza, Soura Bani, Maroy, Deiri, Khwaro, Teyyar, Reytah, Komli, Mosak, KaniKwiz, Merwa, ShahBadin, YariKoura, ShiwaKe, Zakha, ShanaKhasa, Kirkashah, Manjali, AshtiBaram, Sirine, NeleSou, KurdaZbeir, Biori, Syonk and KaniShwan.

### Demands of the People of Diana

The village of Diana is located near Rawanduz. It is an old village which has an elementary school, a clinic, a municipality and, since 1934, a survey office. About 300 families live in the village.

Under the old regime, the entire village was owned by one person, whereas under the new Republican regime the village is owned by its own people, thanks to the Agrarian Reform Law passed after the July 14 Revolution. But the village still needs greater facilities and some projects, and this has moved its inhabitants to submit the following petition to the authorities in the hope that their demands would be realized.

- 1) A potable water project is needed and this can be completed at low cost since no pumping equipment is needed.
- 2) Electric power should be made available for lighting.
- 3) Public domain within the village should be distributed among the inhabitants of the village, and payment should be accepted by instalment on easy terms. This measure would open the way for the people to improve their village.
- 4) Opening roads, parks and playgrounds in the village in order to transform it into a modern center.

The Patriots in BrawiBala Petition the Authorities for a Secondary School

The patriots of the subdistrict of BrawiBala have petitioned the authorities to open a secondary school in the center of the subdistrict as follows:

With a population of 17,000 people and an area that includes 76 villages, the subdistrict of BrawiBala is one of the most densely populated subdistricts. In this subdistrict there are 15 elementary schools of which five have the full number of grades and some have only two grades. These schools graduate about 80 students annually who are denied the opportunity of pursuing their education in the private secondary and high schools because their parents lack the financial means. We therefore petition the authorities to open a secondary school in the village of Bido, whose inhabitants are prepared to bear the full cost of construction. We hope that this request will be favorably received.

23 signatures including Ma'soum  
Anwar el-Ma'i, Hasan Bido, Mikhail  
Mohammed, and Fatma el-Ma'i.

Demands of the Exisanjak Delegation

A delegation representing the district of Exisanjak arrived in Baghdad a few days ago to lay before the authorities the demands and needs of the district. The delegation was representative of all the social classes in the district. After visiting the headquarters of their progressive Party -- The Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdistan -- they called on the Minister of Public Works and Housing who welcomed them and showed great interest in their demands. On the second day they called on the Minister of the Municipalities who assured them that as far as his Ministry was concerned all their demands will be met. On the third day they visited the Minister of the Interior who also promised that their demands will be taken up seriously. The demands presented to the authorities were the following:

- 1) Inaugurate the housing project of the Ministry of Housing.
- 2) Establish a tobacco factory for the manufacture of cigarettes in the district since the area is the main tobacco producing area in the country and such a factory would help to reduce unemployment.

3) To speed up the establishment of a secondary school in Exisanjak as well as a girls' school. The buildings in which the elementary schools of Kadriyyah, Bawaji, and Shirine are housed are totally inadequate from the hygienic and educational standpoint, and new buildings are therefore required. Several new schools and playgrounds are needed in the villages and a teachers' training college is needed.

4) To increase the supplies of wheat and flour allocated to the Exisanjak supply center and to increase the quota of each individual. We also hope that the authorities would open new bakeries in the district.

5) To provide electricity throughout the province and to reduce the price per kilowatt hour by installing a new generator.

6) To make available water for drinking and household uses and to complete opening artesian wells in the district for irrigation purposes.

7) To appoint a new doctor and employ another nurse in the government hospital which should be provided with adequate supplies of medicine. New clinics must be opened in the larger villages and mobile clinical units added to serve the distant villages.

8) Control the prices of the essential consumers goods and especially meat and flour.

9) Advance a loan to the municipality of Exisanjak which would be adequate to enable the municipality to open some new roads and pave others, especially in the BaizAgha quarter.

10) Complete the Exisanjak-Raniah road and maintain it properly.

11) Open roads between Exisanjak and the various villages of the district which would facilitate matters for the peasants and the administration and would help open some of the beautiful summer resorts to the public.

12) Appropriating the open spaces in the towns and converting these into parks or using them for public construction.

13) The Government must assist the Housing Cooperative in Exisanjak acquire the land needed for its useful projects.

14) Missing

15) Distribute agricultural land among the landless peasants and increase the funds available for agricultural credit so that the peasants who have not been advanced a loan are able to receive one. Since tobacco is our main product, we urge the authorities to help improve its production by removing the agricultural, financial and technical impediments related to this crop.

16) Despatch a technical training team to our district; the quarters needed to house such a team are already available.

17) Establish an additional storage center for tobacco.

18) To pave the Exisanjak-Arbil road and to complete and pave the Exisanjak-Kirkuk road.

Undertaking these projects will have the effect of ridding the working masses in our city of some of the chronic economic problems afflicting them such as unemployment. These projects, if completed, will

increase further our unlimited confidence in our nationalist Government and its wise policies and dispel forever the false propaganda which is designed to cast doubt on the economic policies of our Government.

Finally, we pledge our full support to the Republic and to its wise leadership under Abdul Karim Kassem, the leader of the Arabs and the Kurds. Long live the immortal Iraqi Republic, the Republic of the Arabs, the Kurds and of all national groups. Long live the unity of the army and the people under the leadership of Abdul Karim Kassem.

## L. DEMANDS OF THE VILLAGE ARADIN ISLAM

Khebat

27 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily np

The village of Aradin Islam with its population of 600 people is a beautiful summer resort. Under the old regime it was denied all facilities of civilization and progress. The following demands are submitted to the authorities in the hope that they will be favorably received and duly met:

- 1) The opening of an elementary school which is justified by a population of 600 people,
- 2) The opening of a health clinic to provide medical services,
- 3) The construction of an asphalt road connecting the village with other centers,
- 4) Including the village in the national relief work to assist the poor among its population,
- 5) Providing adequate supplies of potable water,
- 6) Repairing and expanding the village mosque.

For the people of Aradin Islam:

Taher Abdallah, Issa Ahmad, and  
Jarjis Hussein.

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M. THE EXPLOITATION OF UNIONS FOR NARROW PARTISAN AIMS  
IS A THREAT TO LABOR UNITY AND TO THE  
INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS

Khehbati

19 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

Our newspaper, Khehbati, has received numerous complaints from workers in Zakho, Koysinjak, Aqra, Kafri, Kirkuk, Sulaimaniyyah, and Rawandouz to the effect that those in control of unions have shown partiality towards certain political parties and oppose our Democratic Party of Kurdistan.

We have at first decided to remain silent concerning these complaints; we were eager not to damage the reputation of the union movement and to avoid as much as possible any conflicts and dissension among the ranks of labor. We of course hoped that those responsible would not pursue this harmful policy, but will in the final analysis treat all workers as equals.

But unfortunately our hopes were misplaced, and the responsible officers have not shown any indication that they might change their policies. Neither has our repeated complaints to the authorities against these violations of the laws of the Republic or the labor and union laws yielded any fruitful results. We have therefore decided to speak out against these harmful practices, which damage the unity of the labor movement and encourage narrow partisanship. We must say frankly that the offices of the labor unions in Kurdistan have been transformed into propaganda centers for certain political parties which are opposed to the parties which represent the best interests of labor.

Unions are occupational organizations for all laborers, not a means of propaganda or a vehicle for partisan ideology. The basic function of a union is to serve its members and to help them achieve their aims which include defense of the Republic, not suppressing a progressive national party. To persist in these actions is to threaten the future and welfare of the labor movement. Those who are responsible for these acts must bear the final responsibility for their deeds. Workers who were misled into supporting these actions or who were forced under threat to yield to the pressure will undoubtedly realize the outcome of their action. The lessons learned by the labor movement during the past year and the experience of the General Federation of Peasant Associations do not lend encouragement to such harmful practices.

## N. DUTIES OF IRAQI STUDENTS TOWARDS THE KURDISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Khehbati

1 May 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

Although the economic factors play an important role in the life of a nation and in the national liberation movements, it is undoubtedly true that the struggle of nations plays an important and strategic role in such movements. A people's struggle is the active factor which makes it possible for a nation to achieve independence and other objectives. This is the prime mover in the continuous development of nations.

The liberation movement of the Kurdish people, not unlike other liberation movements in the Middle East, starts from this undeniable fact. In its struggle to achieve its national objectives, it constitutes a part of the world struggle of other nations for the same objectives. It is therefore impossible to separate the Kurdish nationalist movement from other similar movements in the Middle East, or to ignore the interaction between these movements.

At this stage, when the nationalist movements of all the people in the Middle East are passing through critical phases in their development, we find that the Kurdish nationalist movement assumes a character which is consistent with other liberation movements, but which would achieve the noble aims of all the people of Kurdistan. The Kurdish people are following a well-considered course of action, derived from long experience and from a realistic view of the situation in the area.

While the burden of the struggle for the national objectives should not fall on any particular group or any particular class of society, but should be shared by all classes and groups, we nevertheless maintain that the responsibility of the students, the educated group, must indeed be very great. History provides us with many examples of the students discharging their obligations well in the national struggle.

The role of students in the national struggle of their peoples has been greatly enhanced in this era, because of the facilities which students have to hold meetings on national or international levels and to make their views known in international circles. They have supported the national liberation movements of all suppressed nations and gave them help in attaining a better life in liberating themselves from imperialism.

While it is fully recognized that the international conferences of students play an important role in the advancement of national liberation movements, the role of the students on the regional and national levels in guiding public opinion should not be underestimated. We therefore urge the Iraqi students and especially the students of Kurdistan to participate actively in the nationalist movements of their people and to help push these movements forward in the same spirit of enthusiasm so characteristic of students everywhere.

We the students of Kurdistan, who share with our people all their noble objectives are fully aware that we cannot attain these objectives and unite our nation until we unite all the people of Kurdistan behind the liberation movement and define scientifically the realities of Kurdistan and of the Kurdish liberation movement.

The students of Iraq should understand the historical responsibilities which are theirs with regard to the nationalist movements and in the light of the resolutions of the International Student Congress and of the general program of the Iraqi students which dictates a spirit of brotherhood and true partnership.

The students of Iraq and the Federation of Students who undoubtedly view the Kurdish nationalist movement throughout Kurdistan as an integral part of the nationalist movement, should take positive steps in supporting this movement. The Federation must react properly by recognizing the fact that the Kurdish nationalist movement struggles against imperialism and reactionary governments. We hope that the Federation of Iraqi Students will participate by protesting to the reactionary governments of Turkey, Iran and the United Arab Republic against their hostile policies towards the legitimate and just democratic rights of the Kurdish people.

Likewise, our participation may take the form of holding meetings and celebrating Kurdish national holidays in which the ties of brotherhood and friendship are strengthened. Thus we can perform our duties as Iraqi students and as the educated leaders of our people in its struggle for national liberation and independence from imperialism imposed upon us by centuries of backwardness. Our newly-won independence which has brought us happiness and freedom must be preserved and its blessings shared by all oppressed nations.

O. PEASANTS IN SANKASAR OWN LAND FOR THE  
FIRST TIME IN THEIR LIVES

Khehbati

29 April, 1960, Baghdad

Arabic daily, np

Two days ago, 425 agricultural units of cultivable land were distributed among 425 rural families in the Sankasar area in the District of Rania in the Sulaimaniyyah Liwa. This is only the beginning of the land redistribution scheme which involves the redistribution of 270,800 dunums of agricultural land among 3,537 rural families in the various Liwas of Iraq.

The peasants of Sankasar have already received the temporary titles to their respective plots by which they have become landowners for the first time in their lives. This objective has been realized by the Iraqi Government taking the necessary steps to implement the Agrarian Reform Law and to liquidate feudalism. The average area of each plot ranges between 15 and 18 dunums in the Sankasar district. The Government has also completed three model villages including 380 houses and a complete irrigation network including a concrete dam for storing the water of the Kafin valley and distributing it to the various holdings in accordance with most modern technical methods.

## P. ACTIVITIES OF THE RANIAH PEASANT ASSOCIATION

Khehbati

29 April 1960, Baghdad  
Arabic daily, np

The Peasant Associations have been among the main gains of our Republic. They have opened the way for our peasants to organize themselves in associations which would create the proper atmosphere for productive work. These Associations have already embarked seriously on their task to create productive potentialities in order to improve the standard of living among the peasants which has deteriorated considerably in the past. The Raniah Peasant Association has been a leader in this movement. It has persistently worked, since it was created to remove the obstacles to increased productivity among the peasants. It has also worked diligently to improve the standard of living of the peasants and to provide what is necessary to increase their crops. In this season, for instance, it has attempted to place landless peasants in areas where land was available and did in fact find land for growing tobacco for 70 peasants in the villages of Sarkabkan, Saroujah, Kurditeli, and Kardjan. The peasants were given favorable terms. On a sharecropping basis, they had to pay the landlord only one fourth of the total crop instead of the usual one third or even one half. In addition, the landlord himself assumed the responsibility for providing irrigation water.

These facilities were not of course restricted to the 70 peasants mentioned above, but were generalized to include all the peasants of these villages. These efforts were recognized by the authorities, and the sub-governor of the Raniah district sent to the Raniah Peasant Association thanking them for their successful efforts in improving the lot of the peasants and urging them to pursue their work.

In turn, the Association has requested the authorities to provide them with machinery -- tractors, harvestors and combines -- to assist the peasants in plowing. The authorities have referred the request to higher authorities with the recommendation that the Association be provided with the machinery requested. While we offer our thanks to the Raniah Peasant Association for providing better conditions for the peasants, we support their request for machinery so that they will be in a better position to help their members. We wish them continuing success and progress.

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## 7. ANALYTICAL ARTICLES BY FORMER GERMAN COMMUNIST ON INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST AFFAIRS

### A. KHRUSHCHEV CLEANS UP -- FIVE MEN ON FIRING LIST

Die Zeit

26 February 1960, Hamburg

Page 3, German weekly np

Wolfgang Leonhard

The Party Presidium, the highest power center of the party and the state, has 14 members at this time. Theoretically, they are all equal, but in reality there is an ever-increasing difference between them.

The innermost circle around Khrushchev today consists of six leaders. First we have 58-year old Nikolai Ignatov who is forging ahead gradually; next to Khrushchev, he is probably the most important man in the party machine. In "cadre problems," i.e., in the manning of key positions in the party machine, the government, and the economy, his word counts much, as it does in the determination of Soviet agricultural policy. The 57-year old Averkiy Aristov and 54-year old Leonid Brezhnev, who are also responsible for cadre matters, are gaining increasing influence. The top group in the Kremlin further includes Mikhail Suslov, the top man for ideology and problems of the communist world movement.

Anastas Mikoyan and Frol Kozlov hold a special position within the leading six-man group; both belong to the Party Presidium, but they do not belong to the Central Committee Secretariat. They establish liaison between the top party leadership and the government; Mikoyan operates as leading advisor in problems of foreign policy and foreign trade, while Frol Kozlov, Khrushchev's right-hand man, is presumably responsible for domestic Soviet administrative problems.

Some distance below these men, we have Yekaterina Furtseva (Youth, Public Education, Literature, Art) and Nuritdin Mukhittdinov (Nationality Problems and Soviet Policy in Asia and Africa). According to unconfirmed reports, Mukhittdinov is supposed to head a newly formed commission for underdeveloped countries.

The other five members of the Party Presidium however have constantly been losing influence. This applies especially to Aleksey Kirichenko, who was recently demoted to regional secretary of Rostov, and to Nikolai Belyayev, who was shunted aside to -- of all places -- Stavropol, where "enemy of the party" Bulganin is sitting out his exile. Kirichenko and Belyayev are formally still members of the Party Presidium, but hardly ever take part in its sessions. It is to be expected with that they will definitely leave the Presidium at the Twenty-Second Party Congress in January 1961. Together with them, the remaining three Presidium members will be pensioned; they are 72-year old former labor union chairman and chairman of the Party Control Commission, Nikolai Shvernik; 79-year old chairman of the Presidium of

the Supreme Soviet, Klimenti Voroshilov; and the likewise 79-year old veteran of the Comintern command, Otto Kuusinen. They belong to the Old Guard of revolutionary bolsheviks and will be pensioned with full honors.

It is hardly to be assumed that Khrushchev will again reduce the Presidium to nine members -- as it was for a long time under Stalin -- at the Twenty-Second Party Congress. There are indications that the five men, who will most probably leave, will be replaced with new, younger men in the supreme leadership of the USSR. As the situation looks today, it is very likely that Nikolai Podgorny and Dmitriy Polyanskiy will advance to the status of full members of the Party Presidium; both are men who rose from the party machine and who have longer careers as regional party secretaries behind them.

Nikolai Podgorny, a 57-year old Ukrainian, graduated from the Food Industry College and has been a party member since 1930; he was employed in the economic apparatus of the Ukraine and was a minister periodically. Then he appeared as party secretary in Kharkov, advanced to the position of second party secretary in 1953, and to first party secretary of the Ukraine in 1957. He has been playing a role in the central command in Moscow for some time. He delivered the policy-making report at the December 1959 plenum.

Polyanskiy, born in 1917, the year of the revolution, graduated from an agricultural college, entered the party in 1939, and attended the Party College during the war. After the war, he first served in the Personnel Division of the Central Committee and was then regional party secretary in the Crimea (1953-1955), in Chkalov (1955-1957), and in Krasnodar (1957-1958). Polyanskiy has been prime minister of the Russian Union Republic since 1958; this republic has 208 million inhabitants and is thus larger than all non-Russian union republics together. His specialties are agricultural policy and law.

In addition to Podgorny and Polyanskiy, several regional party secretaries, who today are not even Party Presidium candidates, have some chance of being made part of the top leadership group. Ivan Spiridonov, the 55-year old party secretary of Leningrad, even now plays a role that goes beyond the limits of his region. Technologist Spiridonov became known early in 1959 at the Twenty-First Party Congress through his unusually sharp attacks on the "enemies of the party." Since then he has been considered as an advocate of the "hard" policy, but at the same time he enjoys considerable respect among engineers and technologists as exponent of modern production methods in industry and as technical expert.

Among the rising regional secretaries we also have 53-year old Aleksey Larionov, who has been party secretary of the Ryazan region without interruption since 1948. According to Soviet reports, he is supposed to have succeeded in recent years in transforming the Ryazan region from a backward into an economically far advanced region. At the most recent plenum in December 1959, he was praised and feted by

Khrushchev like no other man. It is interesting to note Khrushchev's remark that he had offered Larionov a leading position at central headquarters in Moscow. But Larionov is supposed to have preferred to continue at the head of the Ryazan region.

The current situation in the Party Presidium clearly demonstrates one thing: Khrushchev's repeatedly demanded rejuvenation of the party machine is confined not only to the lower and middle ranks, but is also beginning to start among the top leadership in the Kremlin. The differing power position of the individual Party Presidium members, the demolition of Kirichenko and Belyayev, the resignation of the old veterans, and the advancement of a group of modern party functionaries, who combine ideological solidity with technical training, indicate that a major personnel reshuffling is due again in the Kremlin -- at the very latest at the Twenty-Second Party Congress.

[Cartoon caption] Persecuted innocence

B. ULBRICHT WANTED TO ESTABLISH A COVER PARTY -- HE HAS  
NOW BURIED PLANS FOR A "GERMAN DEMOCRATIC UNION"

Die Zeit

25 March 1960, Hamburg  
Page 3, German weekly np

Wolfgang Leonhard

"Is it correct to create a new party in West Germany? I say this quite openly, so that we may understand each other.... It is not correct to think about founding a new party now. But it is correct to fight for the legal status of the Communist Party in the interest of unity."

With these words, Hermann Matern, SED [Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands -- German Socialist Unity Party] politburo member and chairman of the Party Control Commission, buried the idea of founding a new, East-controlled party in the Federal Republic at the Leipzig Worker Conference in the middle of March. This idea was considered for the first time in autumn 1956, immediately after the outlawing of the KPD [Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands -- German Communist Party] in the Federal Republic; it has been discussed by East Berlin and Moscow since the end of 1956. The new party was to replace the outlawed KPD; it was to absorb the latter's members and to attract additional voters from the dissatisfied leftist circles and from the bourgeois center. For the moment, East Berlin was still thinking of using the "Union of Germans" as springboard. When the 1957 Bundestag elections showed once again that this "union" did not hold the least attraction, the idea was dropped.

The preparation of the new party -- especially the buildup of cadres -- proceeded slowly. In 1958 and 1959 there were several delays. One group vehemently advocated the formation of a new party. Another wanted to try to make the KPD legal again.

At its Godesberg Party Congress, the SPD [Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands -- German Social Democratic Party] cleaned out the attic of its Marxism program; it sharply turned against communism and even forbade its members to have contact with the East; this congress was new grist for the mill of the party founders. It was above all the Soviet delegates who pleaded for a leftist-socialist party. There were talks with former SPD members and functionaries who had been expelled from the SPD because they had maintained contact with the East. Some of them, whom Moscow considered particularly trustworthy, were even invited to the Soviet capital early in 1960. The party was to be set up as quickly as possible so that it could participate in 1961 elections. The planners were envisioning a party with 30 Bundestag deputies.

Everything was ready. An "Open Letter" by "opposition social democrats" was to serve as the initial impetus. An "initiative committee" was to issue the official founding decree of the new party. This document was to avoid anything that might indicate any contact with the Soviet Zone or Moscow. The press of the Soviet Union was likewise

instructed to report on this party founding event with restraint in order not to discredit the initiative committee in the eyes of the public right away. Yes, the new party was even to be allowed to criticize the Soviet Zone for the moment.

Once again -- for the fourth time -- an unforeseen delay developed. Apparatchiks in East Berlin resisted. The KPD leaders living in exile there -- especially KPD chairman Max Reimann -- feared that they would lose their influence over the last KPD cadres remaining in the Federal Republic if this new party were to become a reality. Other circles of the SED machine likewise were far from fond of a leftist-socialist party which was to have the right to criticize the Soviet Zone. The apparatchiks suggested a different tactic. Instead of founding a new party, a fight was to be made for the re-legalization of the KPD in the Federal Republic. The spirit of Camp David and the coming summit conference -- East Berlin argued -- could lead to a loosening-up of the domestic political situation in the Federal Republic and could create the prerequisites for the re-legalization of the party.

Finally a compromise was made. Both steps were to be taken: there was to be a fight for the legal status of the KPD and a new party was to be founded -- though with different goals. The new party was not to be leftist-socialist but was to be a sort of "popular front," a broad "national rally." This "line" followed the declarations of the European communist parties, which in Rome, in November 1959, recommended the "popular front tactic."

The appeal for the founding of the party, which was ready to go to print, was altered again. The old version stated that the time "for a genuine socialist opposition party" had come; the revised version only mentioned an "effective opposition party." In other passages of the appeal, the word "socialist" fell victim to the censor's blue pencil; this was done in an effort not to frighten the "bourgeois and nationalist" elements away. The new party was to be called the German Democratic Union.

In the middle of these preparations, Hermann Matern's statement burst on the scene. The last word of course has not yet been spoken. Despite Matern's declaration, the German Democratic Union -- or some other East-controlled party with a similar name -- may still be founded within the foreseeable future. Unless, of course, Moscow or East Berlin finally realized that all organizations and parties that are artificially created by the East are doomed to shipwreck in the Federal Republic.

### C. DEGRADED MAO

Die Zeit  
1 April 1960, Hamburg  
Page 1, German weekly np

Wolfgang Leonhard

While reports from China state that all party functionaries and all officials must once again plow through all of Mao Tse-tung's teachings, Moscow announces that the Kremlin ideologists no longer believe in those teachings. The fifth volume of the new Small Soviet Encyclopedia made that quite clear.

Volume 26 of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia of 1954 called Mao a "great theoretician." But in the meantime his experiment with the people's communes lost him all laudatory attributes. In Volume 5 of the Small Soviet Encyclopedia -- sent to the printer on 13 June 1959 -- Mao is merely called a "Marxist theoretician." He is thus neither "great" nor "very great."

The Eastern affairs experts are now eagerly waiting for the first Chinese encyclopedia -- especially for the item "Khrushchev."

[Cartoon caption] Humor from Europe. (Atomic test ban in sight?)

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D. KASSEM'S HOUSE COMMUNISTS -- MOSCOW'S DILEMMA:  
THE TRUE CP IS NOT RECOGNIZED IN IRAQ

Die Zeit

1 April 1960, Hamburg

Page 4, German weekly np

Wolfgang Leonhard

New unrest is reported from Iraq. Clashes between nationalists and communists in Basra and Mosul, anticommunist demonstrations in Baghdad. The assumption that Kassem is moving further and further away from the communists is also confirmed in the following report by Wolfgang Leonhard.

If there must be communists in Iraq, at least let them be my own communists and not Moscow's messenger boys. Of course, General Kassem never made that statement, but he has acted according to it. Iraq currently has two communist parties. One is led by Gaud Sayek; it is officially permitted as the Iraq Communist party, but Moscow calls it a "reformist" group. The Moscow-dominated communist party on the other hand is led by Zeki Khairi Said and Bustany; since the re-legalization of Iraq parties in January, it has in vain been waiting for its license for legal activity.

Gaud Sayek, a communist since the end of the twenties, was expelled from the party in 1943. He then founded a "union of communists," but in 1957 again joined the official communist party. In July 1959, after the clashes in Kirkuk, Sayek for the second time left the Moscow-dominated Communist Party and published the newspaper Al Mabda. His friendly relations with Kassem are both of a political and a personal nature -- his brother is Iraq's ambassador in Lebanon.

Why did Kassem neutralize the Moscow-oriented Communist Party, which Sayek's organization fought bitterly? Officially he had it announced that the communists' avowal of Marxism-Leninism is not clear; other program points also were supposed to require clarification. Especially, the party attribute "revolutionary" was supposed to be inappropriate. The Moscow-dominated communists could only make further concessions. They accepted Kassem's revolution, which ended the "semifeudal, semicolonial, and reactionary system" and created an "independent, freedom-loving, antiimperialist, and antifeudal republic." The Communist Party, it was said, would now fight for the liquidation of the remnants of feudal rule, the consolidation of independence, agrarian reform, the industrialization of the country, and the increase in the standard of living of the population. The contradictions and contrasts between the various strata and classes of the country are supposedly of secondary importance, compared to the common goal and tasks. One should therefore aim at the creation of a unified "National Front" -- under the leadership of the workers and peasants.

Even this watered-down list of objectives did not find a favorable reception. The National Democratic Party, which is closely linked with Kassem, declared that the demand for a National Front was merely a "communist tactic." A speaker of the National Democratic Party added: "They try to draw us into their national front, as they did before; we are against this and our members are also against this."

But, in order to obtain legal status in spite of all this, the Kremlin made further concessions. The Moscow-dominated Communist Party shed its name and now calls itself a "People's Unity Party" (Ittihad-Ash-Shad Party). Here is the reasoning behind this. The Iraq Interior Ministry has already approved "an opposition group under the leadership of the editor Gaud Sayek" and under the name "Communist Party."

But as a result of this, we have a paradoxical situation in Iraq which is unique in the history of world communism. A communist party, not recognized by Moscow, is the official Communist Party, while the Moscow-dominated communists have not been legalized even under their new name "People's Unity Party." Recently, the Iraq Interior Ministry announced that "the change of the name of a party does not necessarily mean a change in its aims." Only such parties could be authorized in Iraq "whose aims are neither secret nor irreconcilable with the independence of the country."

Moscow is far from giving up the fight for the legalization of its "People's Unity Party." The communist world press at this time avoids any criticism of Kassem, but there is a world-wide struggle against Gaud Sayek's independent communists. The cliche accusation -- as in Tito's case in 1948 -- is "Trotskyite-opportunist group." On the other hand, Sayek's paper Al Mabda published a series of articles in which the Soviet Union and the East bloc states were criticized from the Marxist viewpoint. Quite a domestic squabble, this....

E. REVOLT IN KAZAKHSTAN -- EYEWITNESS REPORTS  
ON A REVOLT IN OCTOBER 1959

Die Zeit  
14 April 1960, Hamburg  
Page 3, German weekly np

Wolfgang Leonhard

Early in October 1959, strikes and unrest broke out in Soviet North Kazakhstan, which were smashed by army units only after bloody fighting. News about this has finally arrived in the West. Wolfgang Leonhard describes this uprising on the basis of eyewitness reports.

The center of the focus of unrest was in Kemir-Tau, a city of 50,000 inhabitants, located 30 km north of Karaganda. The great metallurgical combine called "Kazakhstanskaya Magnitka" is being built in this district. Tens of thousands of Komsomol members, especially from the Ukraine and Byelorussia, had been sent there for construction work and other labor.

The unrest began in a provisional tent city in which 3,000 Komsomol members lived under poor conditions. The youths were paid much less than the other workers in this region. The supply problem and the miserable diet in the canteen were however even more decisive than this.

On Saturday, 3 October 1959, the young people finally lost patience. They stopped working. A group of 50 Komsomols set the canteen on fire and marched to the 1 and 1/2-km distant market square. There, the infuriated youths began to storm the stores and food stands and to distribute the goods among themselves. When the local militia tried to stop them, the Komsomols erected barricades.

Soon, 1,500 Komsomols arrived from the tent city as reinforcements and the uprising spread to the entire city of Kemir-Tau. During the night from Saturday to Sunday, the militia chief was hanged by insurgent Komsomols in front of the militia building. His deputy fled the city. On Sunday the Komsomols seized the administration building of Kazakhstanskaya Magnitka; according to some reports, they killed the manager at that time.

Around noon, the Komsomols found out that troops were under way from Karaganda to "restore order." They waited in ambush, seized three trucks with soldiers and took their weapons. According to eyewitness reports, most of the population was on the side of the insurgent Komsomols, but due to fear of reprisals only a part of the population joined the uprising.

During the day, several planes landed troops from Alma Ata, Akmolinsk, and Balkhash. They tried to surround the part of the city in which the Komsomols had ensconced themselves. But the Komsomols did not surrender; they even attacked, using three trucks. Until Sunday evening, 91 persons had been killed and hundreds wounded, according to reports from the local hospital.

After the failure of the first attempts to suppress the rebellion, 2,000 unarmed members of the "Druzhina," the worker militia of the plants in Kemir-Tau and Karaganda, were sent forward. They were to persuade the Komsomols to end their uprising. But this attempt failed likewise. The Komsomols attacked members of the worker militia, tore off their red armbands, and wounded some. The worker militia was therefore withdrawn on Sunday evening.

A few hours later, more troop reinforcements arrived. They had orders to break all resistance by force of arms. Once more there was heavy fighting. But this time the troops were too strong. The battle was decided within half an hour. The Komsomols fled. One group returned to the tent city and started fires. The troops remained in Kemir-Tau until Thursday, 8 October. But even after most of them had departed, one unit was left behind in the city.

During the fighting, about half of the 3,000 Komsomols were killed and wounded; many lightly wounded are said to have succeeded in fleeing to the surrounding regions. At the end of October, the seven "ring leaders" of the uprising were tried in Kemir-Tau. The trial lasted 2 days; only party members were admitted to the court room. Of the seven ring leaders, two were sentenced to death, two to 10 years, and three to 5 years imprisonment. The prosecution's charges however did not mention the uprising; they referred only to an allegedly planned dynamite attack against parts of the plant.

Not until 5 months after the uprising did the Soviet citizen find out about all this in a sketchy fashion. At the Party Congress of the Kazakhstan Communist Party, the newly appointed first secretary of the party, Kunayev, spoke about "serious deficiencies" in the living conditions of the construction workers. He said: "At many construction sites, quarters for workers are inadequate; the public food supply system and the stores are operating badly. We must draw the conclusions from last year's sabotage during the construction of the metallurgical plant in Karaganda, which was caused by the arrogant behavior of the construction bosses with regard to the living conditions of the workers."

The uprising of Kemir-Tau appears especially noteworthy because the rebels here were not revolting prison camp inmates -- as in the strikes and uprisings in the camps of Vorkuta, Kingir, Taishet, and Karaganda in 1953 and 1954 -- but "free" workers, yes, even members of the Komsomol, the communist youth organization in the USSR.

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